

The University of Chicago

THE DESCRIPTION OF CHARACTERS
IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE
1937

By
GEORGE VINCENT KIDDER

Private Edition, Distributed by
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PREFACE

This study has for its purpose the consideration of the amount and kind of description of characters in the Aeneid. It is, on the one hand, a phase of the study of the technique of character portrayal, to which it may contribute something, but it is only a limited phase, since it definitely leaves out of account the portrayal of character through speech and action, except as these enter incidentally for comparison. On the other hand, it is a phase of the larger subject of description in general, which, if handled in the large, would include the descriptions not only of persons, but also of places and objects. Description of characters, however, will take account of all the detail given about persons directly, either to identify them or to describe them, not merely of detail regarding personal appearance.

The interest of the writer in this general theme was aroused by Dr. John A. Scott of Northwestern University, who suggested the possibility of a study of the introduction of characters in Homer, and gave much help and encouragement in the early stages of the investigation. For the purposes of a doctoral dissertation in the Department of Latin Language and Literature, this was first extended to include Apollonius' Argonautica and Vergil's Aeneid, then as a matter of economy, it seemed best to concentrate on the description of characters in the Aeneid, using the material already gathered from Greek epic only for comparative purposes, and in very condensed form. In the development of the topic, and in the preparation of this presentation, the writer is very deeply indebted to Dr. Henry Washington Prescott of the University of Chicago.

The texts used throughout are the editions in the series of Oxford Classical Texts. Translations from the Iliad are quoted from the version of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, those from the Odyssey are from the translation by Butcher and Lang, and those from the Argonautica from the translation by R. C. Seaton in the "Loeb Classical Library."

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INTRODUCTION

Our consideration of the description of characters in Vergil's Aeneid will concern itself with three main subjects, the content of the descriptions, that is, just what sort of information is given about the characters, matters of style and technique in connection with these descriptions, and a comparison with the practice of Homer and Apollonius in similar situations.

The content of descriptions of characters may be classified under the headings 1) biographical detail, 2) physical detail, and 3) detail concerning inner qualities. Under biographical detail, there are numerous subdivisions: a) genealogy, that is, names of parents, more remote ancestors, or kinsmen; b) companions; c) home or race; d) occupation or social position; e) circumstances in life; f) personal history. Under physical detail are included details of appearance, dress, and manual skills, but we shall omit from consideration description of characters concerned with their equipment for, or appearance during particular stages of the action, or with their physical reaction to particular events. Under detail concerning inner qualities is included all material that may be regarded as concerned with mental or moral qualities or states, with special aptitudes, and with traits of character. Here a distinction will be made between temporary states or reactions, and more nearly permanent qualities.

It will be necessary to distinguish various types of characters, on the basis of the circumstances under which they appear. The broadest distinction is between those who appear in large groups or in mass scenes, and those who appear as individuals. Under the first heading, are included: A) characters in the catalogues of Books vii and x; B) characters appearing in lists, whether of slain or others; and C) characters appearing in scenes of mass action, as in massacre scenes, but not in lists. Under the second heading, those who appear as individuals, are included: A) purely incidental characters; B) individuals in shorter episodes, with separate subheadings for those whose like-

ness gods assume as a disguise, and for the participants in the games; and C) foreground characters, including the heroes of certain longer episodes.

CHAPTER I

CHARACTERS IN GROUPS OR MASS SCENES

A. Catalogues

In considering the characters who appear in groups or in mass scenes, we take up first those named in the two catalogues, vii. 647-817 of the Latin forces, and x. 166-214 of the Etruscan forces coming to aid Aeneas.¹ There are in the two catalogues twenty-three persons,² most of whom are of relatively minor importance in the action of the poem. Camilla, Mezentius, and Turnus are foreground characters, and will be discussed under that heading; of the rest, there is little or no information outside the catalogues.³ Biographical information is found in the case of all but two, Camilla and Aulestes. Regarding nine there is genealogical detail; of twenty, or all but three, the home is given, and the ancestral race of three is added. The occupations of only three are noted, Caeculus a king, Umbro a priest who charms snakes, probably in connection with his rites, and Asilas a seer. Of personal history, there is only the fact that Caeculus was founder of Praeneste. Information about physical detail is found in the case of eleven persons, less than half. Four are

¹The cities represented are discussed by Catharine Saunders, Vergil's Primitive Italy (New York, 1930), pp. 64-86.

²The persons named in the catalogues are:

vii. 648 Mezentius	vii. 724 Halaesus	x. 166 Massicus
649 Lausus	734 Oebalus	170 Abas
657 Aventinus	745 Ufens	175 Asilas
672 Catillus	752 Umbro	180 Astyr
and Coras	762 Virbius	186 Cinyras
681 Caeculus	783 Turnus	and Cupavo
691 Messapus	803 Camilla	198 Ocnus
707 Clausus		207 Aulestes

³The added information consists solely of epithets, ingens of Lausus in x. 842, durus of Halaesus x. 422, pugnae nodumque moramque of Abas x. 428, in the physical sphere; bellis acer of Halaesus x. 411 and fortis of Asilas xii. 127, 550, which may be regarded as partly inner qualities. Cf. p. 4, n. 1.

described by epithets, gravis, torvus, insignis fama et felicibus armis, magni agminis instar; three are described as beautiful, the dress or equipment of five is mentioned, and two are horsemen, one of them also a huntsman.¹ As for inner qualities, Coras is acer, Umbro and Cinyras are fortissimus,² Mezentius is asper and contemptor divum, and Camilla is characterized as a warrior-maid for whom household arts have no interest. There is some other information included in the catalogues which does not come under any of these heads. Clausus is said to be the ancestor of the Roman Claudii, of Messapus we are told that he was not to be slain by anyone by fire or sword, and of Umbro the priest it is said that his powers were not to protect him from Trojan wounds. There are besides three digressions, which will be considered under style, and in about three-quarters of the cases, some detail is given about those who make up the leader's forces.

The content of these passages in the Aeneid may be compared with the content of the catalogues in Iliad ii. 494-877 and Argonautica i. 23-227. The following table, although purely quantitative in its measurements, indicates clearly the proportionate

¹Gravis is used of Aulestes, torvus of Abas, insignis fama et felicibus armis of Ufens, magni agminis instar of Clausus; the beauty of Lausus, Aventinus, and Astyr is mentioned, the dress or equipment of Aventinus, Umbro, Turnus, Camilla, and Culpavo. The horsemen are Lausus and Messapus, the former being also a huntsman.

²The adjectives acer and fortis, used frequently by Vergil, both in the positive and the superlative degree, are troublesome. It is a question whether they should be treated as referring to inner qualities. An examination of all the occurrences in the Aeneid suggests that fortis and even fortissimus, though not very emphatic, when used of persons are intended to apply in the sphere of the spirit rather than the body. They mean "brave" or "valiant" in a general sense, never being applied clearly to a particular situation. Acer is rather different. Servius on Aeneid viii. 614 says "proprie apud nos acer est, qui apud Graecos δεινός dicitur; nam fortem et vehementem et asperum et amarum potest significare." The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae includes the uses in which we are interested under the heading de animantium vi agendi, and says Mezentius acer, et epici saepe de fortibus. The adjective appears usually to involve a signification of eagerness, or energy, or élan, which is more than physical, although for the most part given physical expression. In some cases, however, it is nearer "lively," and in x. 308 it is balanced with nec segnis, seeming here to emphasize the purely physical. In view of these considerations, we shall include all instances of fortis under inner qualities, and all instances of acer except those in which it is clearly predominantly physical, but shall note the cases in which these adjectives are so included.

emphasis in the three poems.

	<u>Iliad</u>	<u>Argon</u>	<u>Aeneid</u>
Total number.....	61	52	23
Biographical detail.....	61	52	21
Genealogical.....	41	46	9
Home or race.....	61	46	20
Occupation.....	1	4	3
Other.....	0	3	0
Physical detail.....	4	10	11
Inner qualities.....	0	0	5
Miscellaneous.....	2	0	3

These figures leave out of account the epithets in Homer and Apollonius which may be regarded as conventional; if included, they would increase the totals for physical detail in the Iliad to 20 and in the Argonautica to 16. Clearly the two older poets have greater interest in biographical detail, and particularly in genealogical detail. This reaches its maximum in Apollonius, and is very sharply reduced in Vergil. On the other hand, physical detail, infrequent in the catalogues of Homer and Apollonius, is definitely more common in those of Vergil, and mention of inner qualities, neglected in the older poets, clearly has a place in the Aeneid. The only detailed description in either of the earlier catalogues is that of the two sons of Boreas, Calais and Zetes, in Apollonius, Argon. i. 219 ff.: "There they were making their dusky wings quiver upon their ankles on both sides as they rose, a great wonder to behold, wings that gleamed with golden scales: and round their backs from the top of the head and neck, hither and thither, their dark tresses were being shaken by the wind." There is a rather striking parallelism of detail in the account of Camilla's fleetness, Aen. vii. 808-11:

illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laeisset aristas,
vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tument
ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas,

and in that of Euphemus, Argon. i. 180 and 182 ff., "most swift-

footed of men," who "was wont to skim the swell of the grey sea, and wetted not his swift feet, but just dipping the tips of his toes was borne on the watery path."

There are certain matters of style and technique in these catalogues which deserve comment.¹ The Homeric catalogue is really a catalogue of the peoples who furnished contingents for the expedition, with the number of ships supplied by each. The most important leaders of each contingent are named, and frequently some information is given about the leaders, but the approach is from the point of view of the peoples concerned. Vergil, on the other hand, while following tradition in constructing a catalogue, is interested in presenting the individuals as vividly as possible, keeping to the traditional form, but enlivening his account in various ways. The striking qualities of the Vergilian catalogue in Book vii are the variety with which material is presented, the vividness of its presentation, with a direct appeal to the eye, the more careful organization with primary characters at beginning and end, and the restriction to only a few individuals.² The organization of that in Book x is less striking. The purpose here seems to be to honor Etruscan cities and to display antiquarian interest and information.³ The catalogue of the Argonautica is the only one in the three poems which is complete, including all the characters who later appear as Argonauts. The detail about each character is in general fuller than in Homer, and the interest shifts from the people represented to the heroes who represent them, with more emphasis on the individuals than in Homer.

In one point of technique, the three poets are near each

¹The material in this paragraph is based largely on the discussions of the catalogue of Aeneid, Book vii in R. Heinze, Vergils Epische Technik (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 366, n. 2, 403, 443 f., and J. Henry, Aeneidea, III (Dublin, 1889), 593 ff. Cf. also H. W. Fowler, Gathering of the Clans (Oxford, 1918).

²Servius on Aen. vii. 647 says of the catalogue "scienda est poetae affectatio--nam ablepsiam nefas est dicere--hic enim aliquos commemorat, quos in bello non invenis, item in sequentibus aliquos invenimus, quorum hic nullam fecit commemorationem." He seems to have missed completely the conscious art with which Vergil undertook to make of the traditional catalogue a unified, effective portion of his story, without extending it to such length, by an effort at completeness, that it would be difficult or impossible to handle.

³Cf. Miss Saunders, loc. cit.

other. Each summons the Muses to his aid. Homer invokes the Muse at length, but concludes, "So will I tell the captains of the ships and all the ships in order." Apollonius reverses the relative emphasis, "Now I will tell the lineage and the names of the heroes . . . ; may the Muses be the inspirers of my song!" Vergil in both cases calls upon the Muses to recount the list, and seems to represent them as doing so. He uses apostrophe in naming four heroes, Oebalus and Ufens successively in Book vii and Cinyras and Cupavo successively in Book x. Each of the poets digresses at least once, to introduce a legend without direct application to the story. Homer in Il. ii. 594 ff. brings in a story of Thamyris in connection with a place Dorion, and Apollonius brings in a story of Caeneus with mention of his son Coronus, i. 59 ff. Vergil digresses similarly on Hippolytus in mentioning his son Virbius, vii. 765 ff., on Cycnus at mention of his son Cupavo, x. 189 ff., and on the city of Mantua in speaking of Ocnus, x. 200 ff. The way is prepared for the digression in the second case by the description of Cupavo as wearing a head-dress of swans' plumes, and in the last case by calling Ocnus a son of Manto and the Tuscan river.¹ Each of the three poets also, in one or more instances, makes use of the catalogue to tell something of the destiny of a character, or his fate. With Messapus and Umbro in the Aeneid, we may compare Nastes ii. 871 ff. and Ennomus ii. 858 ff. in the Iliad, and Canthus and Mopsus i. 79 ff. in the Argonautica. One other point of technique in the Vergilian catalogue is of particular interest, the description of Camilla given from the point of view of the crowd streaming forth to see her, with considerable detail which would appeal especially to the matrons in the crowd,² and briefer mention of her bow and quiver, perhaps for the benefit of the young men (vii. 812 ff.):

illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus

¹Miss Saunders, p. 82, says, "the poet seems to be laboring to honor the land of his birth," and p. 85, "In making Ocnus son of a river-god and a prophetess Vergil is trying to give an air of hoary antiquity to the founding of Mantua." She discusses at length the appropriateness of Mantua in such a catalogue. Cf. B. Rehm, Philologus, Supplementband XXIV (1932), Heft 2, S. 9.

²Cf. Fowler, p. 89, n. 2. He also says of this description (p. 85): "Camilla . . . is revealed more fully in the eleventh book, where the wonderful story of her infancy is told; but in these few lines her portrait is already perfect, without a flaw in thought or expression."

turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastorem praefixa cuspidem myrtum.

It is worth noting that the detail given here of Camilla is introduced merely for its own sake, to indicate her attractiveness and the admiration she had won, to interest the reader rather than to convey any information essential to the progress of the story. An artistic embellishment of the immediate scene, the account omits much that might have been included here, but which the poet chooses to save until Camilla takes her prominent part in the action.

B. Lists

We turn from the catalogues to lists of persons, considering first lists of those slain in battle. In the Aeneid, there are twelve such lists,¹ half of them in the ninth book, and they include altogether forty-eight personal names.² In general, there

¹The twelve lists are as follows:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| ix. 334 f., | three Rutulians slain by Nisus |
| 344 f., | four Rutulians slain by Euryalus |
| 574 f., | six Trojans slain by Turnus |
| 684 f., | four Latins slain at the gate of the Trojan camp |
| 702, | three Trojans slain by Turnus |
| 767, | four Trojans slain by Turnus |
| x. 413, | three Trojans slain by Halaesus |
| 561 f., | four Latins wounded or slain by Aeneas |
| xi. 675, | four Phrygians slain by Camilla |
| xii. 341, | three Trojans slain by Turnus |
| 362 ff., | six Trojans slain by Turnus |
| 513 ff., | four Latins slain by Aeneas |

²The full list of persons named is as follows:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|------------|---------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| ix. 334 | Lamyrus | ix. 685 | *Haemon | xi. 675 | Harpalycus |
| 334 | Lamus | 702 | Merops | 675 | Demophoon |
| 335 | *Serranus | 702 | Erymas | 675 | Chromis |
| 344 | Fadus | 702 | Aphidnus | xii. 341 | Sthenelus |
| 344 | Herbesus | 767 | Alcander | 341 | Thamyrus |
| 344 | Rhoetus | 767 | Halius | 341 | Pholus |
| 344 | Abaris | 767 | Noëmon | 362 | Asbytes |
| 574 | Ityes | 767 | Prytanis | 363 | Chloereus |
| 574 | Clonius | x. 413 | Ladon | 363 | Sybaris |
| 574 | Dioxippus | 413 | Pheres | 363 | Dares |
| 574 | Promolus | 413 | Demodocus | 363 | Thersilochus |
| 575 | Sagaris | 561 | *Antaeus | 364 | Thymoetes |
| 575 | Idas | 561 | *Lucas | 513 | Talos |
| 684 | Quercens | 562 | *Numa | 513 | Tanais |
| 684 | *Aquiculus | 562 | *Camers | 513 | *Cethegus |
| 685 | *Tmarus | xi. 675 | Tereus | 514 | *Onites |

is no information except the name, and by the very fact that these are lists, information is limited to epithets or brief phrases. The ten names marked by asterisks in the list above are accompanied by descriptive epithets or phrases, the other thirty-eight are mere names.¹ There is biographical detail of three, consisting of names of parents of three, Haemon, Camers, and Onites, with brief mention of Camers' circumstances and position as well. There is physical detail of five: Serramus is distinguished for his youth and beauty, Aquiculus is comely in arms, Camers is fulvus, Antaeus and Lucas are prima agmina Turni. Detail about inner qualities is scanty and unemphatic, Numa and Cethegus being called fortis, and Tmarus praeceps animi.

The content of information given of characters in the lists of slain in the Iliad is as follows. There are altogether ten lists, containing sixty-seven personal names. Of these, fifty-two are mere names, nothing more. There is biographical information about ten, consisting of the name of a parent in nine cases, and mention of the occupation of one individual. Physical detail is mentioned in five cases, but only by epithets that may be regarded as conventional, and there is no reference to inner qualities. In short, the number of those about whom some information is given is proportionately almost exactly the same in the two poets, if we include the Homeric epithets, but in Homer the information is predominantly genealogical, while in Vergil it is predominantly physical or moral, even if brief.

There are a number of observations which may be made under the general heading of style and technique, as applied to information given. A glance at the names starred in the list in note 2 on the preceding page indicates that those of whom something is said are grouped together. The first, Serranus ix. 335, concludes a list of three; the next three in ix. 684 f. are in a list of four of whom only the first has merely a name; the next

¹It is possible that four of these appear elsewhere. Sagaris ix. 575 probably is not the servant of that name in v. 263, and Dares xii. 363 is probably not the boxer of the games. Camers x. 562 may be the same as the Camers of xii. 224, but the implication is that the persons in this list were killed. Finally Thymoetes xii. 364 may be identical with the man of that name in x. 123 and even ii. 32. No argument can be drawn from the repetition of these names, for duplicates are very common in the Aeneid. There is no other evidence that the individuals are the same.

group of four make up the whole list x. 561 f.; and the last two conclude a list of four xii. 513 f. Vergil shows a definite tendency to omit all detail except mere names from his lists of slain, for of the twelve lists eight have no other detail. If he gives information about any of those in the list, he tends to give it about more than one, and, of more importance, when detail is given about some but not all in a list, those concerning whom it is given terminate the list. In no one of these points can Vergil's practice be said to be characteristic of Homer, for of the ten lists in the Iliad, seven contain at least one epithet or patronymic; only in v. 705 ff. is there a list in which the majority have such designations; and in no case is there so clear evidence of a tendency to concentrate this detail at the end of the list. Of direct borrowing from the Iliad, there is one striking instance, for ix. 767 is taken in toto from Il. v. 678, a verse made up entirely of proper names, and forming part of a longer list. Another definite tendency on Vergil's part, connected with his practice of concentrating detail at the end of lists, is to continue, after completing the list, with further detail about the character last named. This is most evident in the case of Camers x. 562 ff.:

fulvumque Camertem,
magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri
qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.

There is no other instance of so long an extension giving this sort of detail about a character named as one of a list, but there are other instances of briefer extensions of this sort, and still other cases in which the extension is concerned with other material, particularly the circumstances or manner of the hero's death.¹

¹Following are the instances in which the extension is concerned with information about the person named. ix. 335 ff.:

et iuvenem Serranum, illa qui plurima nocte
luserat, insignis facie, multoque iacebat
membra deo victus

We find his youth and beauty mentioned, and in addition a little picture of the young man as he lay asleep before Nisus killed him. In xii. 514 f.,

et maestum Oniten,
nomen Echionium matrisque gemas Peridiae,

the extension gives something of his family. The lists in ix. 344 f., ix. 574 f., xii. 341, and xii. 362 ff. are extended by added detail about the circumstances of the death of the last character.

Only two lists in Homer are extended in any such way.¹

The care and artistic skill used by the poet in the handling of the battle scenes have been discussed by Heinze,² and he indicates the part played by one of the lists in his analysis of the structure of the account of the battle about the camp in Book ix, pointing out the grouping throughout by pairs and fours, and the manner in which the action expands and contracts. We may summarize here his treatment of the short passage ix. 569-76, which is particularly striking in its structure, and illustrates the use of the list.

Ilioneus saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
Lucetium portae subeuntem ignisque ferentem,
Emathiona Liger, Corynaeum sternit Asilas,
hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta,
Ortygium Caeneus, victorem Caenea Turnus,
Turnus Ityn Cloniumque, Dioxippum Promolumque
et Sagarim et summis stantem pro turribus Idan,
Privernum Capys.

In the first two lines, we find a pair, each having a full verse, with the name at the beginning. In the next two lines there are two pairs with brief detail of the two slayers. The next verse contains two pairs, without any added detail, but the slayer in turn becomes the slain, falling before Turnus, and then in the next verse Turnus slays four in rapid succession. Up to this point there is increasing brevity, but the next verse, which has another pair slain by Turnus, with names at the beginning and the end, gives a little detail concerning the last. Then the narrative includes one other pair, but thereafter expands very definitely, with fuller detail regarding other slayings. Heinze's analysis continues with the narrative practically to the end of Book ix. We treated as a list 574 f., and the latter of these lines exemplifies the extension through detail about the circumstances of the death of the character at the end of the list. In other cases, the effect of the lists is similar to that here, but no other is so striking in its setting. Incidentally, verse 574 is the only one in Homer or the Aeneid which gets five persons into a single line. The lists in the Iliad contain an average of nearly seven persons each as opposed to an average of four in the Aeneid. In Homer the lists seem to be intended to bring out the

¹Iliad v. 705 ff. and vi. 20 ff.

²Heinze, pp. 219 f.

accomplishment of a major hero by emphasizing the extent of his conquests a little more than a mere number would do, and also to picture for the reader or hearer the violent action of the scene. In effect, we get a moving picture of the battle, rather than a snapshot of a corpse-strewn field; we see the hero furiously fighting, cutting down a succession of foes. Vergil gains a similar effect with his shorter lists, by weaving them into the fabric of his story in artistic combination with narrative less condensed.

In addition to the ten lists of slain in the Aeneid, there are nine other lists of varying nature and function, naming a total of fifty-five persons.¹ In contrast to the lists above, which

¹The nine lists are as follows:

1. 120 f., four companions whose ships Aeneas sees succumb to the storm.
1. 220 ff., five comrades whose loss Aeneas mourns.
- ii. 261-64, nine Greek heroes leaving the wooden horse.
- ii. 339 ff., five comrades of Aeneas in the battle in Troy.
- vi. 445-49, seven legendary heroines in Hades.
- vi. 479-85, eleven legendary heroes in Hades.
- vi. 650, three legendary Trojans in Hades.
- x. 123-26, eight Trojans defending the camp.
- xi. 655 f., three companions of Camilla.

The persons, with asterisks indicating that detail is added, are:

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. 120 Ilioneus | vi. 447 Euadne |
| 120 *Achates | 447 Pasiphae |
| 121 Abas | 447 Laodamia |
| 121 *Aletes | 448 *Caeneus |
| 220 *Orontes | 479 Tydeus |
| 221 Amycus | 480 *Parthenopaeus |
| 222 Lycus | 480 Adrastus |
| 222 *Gyas | 483 Glaucus |
| 222 *Clocanthus | 483 Medon |
| ii. 261 *Thessandrus | 483 Thersilochus |
| 261 *Sthenelus | 484 *tris Antenoridae |
| 261 *Ulixes | 484 *Polyboetes |
| 262 Acamas | 485 *Idaeus |
| 262 Thoas | 650 Ilus |
| 263 *Neoptolemus | 650 Assaracus |
| 263 *Machaon | 650 *Dardanus |
| 264 Menelaus | x. 123 *Asius |
| 264 *Epeos | 123 *Thymoetes |
| 339 Rhipheus | 124 Assaraci duo |
| 340 *Epytus | 124 Castor |
| 340 Hypanis | 124 *Thymbris |
| 340 Dymas | 126 *Clarus |
| 341 *Coroebus | 126 *Thaemon |
| vi. 445 Phaedra | xi. 655 *Larina |
| 445 Procris | 656 Tulla |
| 445 Eriphyle | 656 *Tarpeia |

contained practically no characters appearing elsewhere, about a third of those in these lists appear elsewhere, and secondly, while in lists of slain about four-fifths are mere names, in other lists less than one-half have no further designation. There is some sort of biographical detail regarding fourteen, including genealogical detail about eight. The fathers of seven are given by means of five patronymics,¹ one patronymic covering three persons, and two others are called brothers of Sarpedon from Lycia. The position of three as leaders is noted, Thessandrus, Sthenelus, and Machaon, and Polyboetes of vi. 484 is apparently a priest of Ceres. There is some detail about the personal history of Coroebus and Caeneus. Brief physical detail is given concerning six, by the following epithets, iuvenis of Coroebus, senior of Thymbris, grandaevus of Aletes, maximus armis of Epytus and inolutus armis of Parthenopaeus, and finally virgo of Larina, while of two others, Idaeus and Tarpeia, the equipment is mentioned. Referring to inner qualities are three epithets, fortis, acer, and dirus. Fortis is used of Achates, Gyas, and Cloanthus, acer of Orontes, in no one of these cases with any real emphasis. Dirus is used of Ulysses, and seems to be due to his craftiness, which to the Trojans would make him "baneful."² It should be added here that when Rhipheus, included in the list of Aeneas' companions in Troy ii. 339, is slain in battle in 426 f., he is characterized thus:

iustissimus unus
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi.

Finally, there are two bits of detail not included in the above headings. Epeos is identified as the maker of the wooden horse, when named among the Greeks leaving the machine ii. 264, and Dardanus, in the list of legendary Trojans in Hades vi. 650, is called the founder of Troy.

We may summarize briefly the content of similar lists in

¹The three Antenorids of vi. 484 are not named. Asius, Thymoetes, Neoptolemus, and Coroebus are the others with patronymics. In addition, the three comrades of Camilla are called Italides, which is surely geographical. This is a surprising number of patronymics for any group in Vergil.

²Ulysses, together with Lycus, Menelaus, and Neoptolemus, will be considered again among the characters who appear outside the lists, in mass scenes; Ilioneus, Achates, Aletes, and Orontes are also among the incidental characters, and Gyas and Cloanthus are contestants in the games.

the Iliad. There are ten such lists, containing 67 names, of which 46 are not accompanied by any other detail, leaving 21 of whom some information is given. As for biographical detail, the parents of nine are named, and the occupations of two, a king and a seer. Physical detail is given, merely by epithets, for twelve, and there is no detail whatever regarding inner qualities. In the Odyssey, there are three similar lists, containing twenty-seven names. The names of the parents of seven are given in the lists, two have epithets which are purely physical and one is mentioned at more length for his skill in war and his beauty, while one has an epithet, δολιππων, which seems to apply partly or wholly to physical skill.¹ In the Argonautica, there are no comparable lists at all.

That Vergil is consciously imitating Homer seems clear from the closeness of certain parallels, particularly in vi. 483, which is taken almost in entirety from Il. xvii. 216. Also, the first two words of the next verse are taken from Il. xi. 59.² There are in addition numerous other metrical equivalences in these lists. Interesting in this respect is Aen. x. 123, in which Asius Imbrasides is a combination of a name from Il. ii. 838 with a patronymic from iv. 520, and Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes is similarly a combination, with a slight change, of a patronymic from Il. xv. 546 with a name from iii. 146, the words all occupying the same positions in the verse. Surely there were Homeric cadences in Vergil's ears, even in the proper names, but less direct borrowing than one might expect.

No one of these lists is composed of names only, and detail is given about more of the characters involved. It is not

¹In Od. viii. 111 ff. is found the longest list in either author, containing the names of eleven youths who enter the games in Phaeacia. The poet lists ten men, by name only, in the first three verses, in the next names one with his father and grandfather, then devotes three verses to one man, mentioning his father, his skill in war, and his exceptional beauty, and finally in the last two verses names three others as sons of King Alcino-us. Here we have an interesting expansion in the middle of a list, framed by series of names.

²Vergil could not appropriately take this whole verse, because, of the three sons whose names are given here by Homer, only one perished in the Iliad and so would be in Hades. It happens that only three sons of Antenor who have the patronymic in the Iliad also perished in battle, Acamas, Coon, and Iphidamas; they may be referred to here.

limited to the end of the list, although some detail is given about the last person named in each list. Aside from this fact, it is scattered throughout, somewhat at random, it seems, and in this respect these lists are more like the Homeric type than are the lists of slain, for Homer seems not to follow any principle in including or omitting detail about individuals. Metrical convenience is probably the controlling factor.

These lists, however, have a very definite place, and serve a very definite purpose, in certain cases. The list of companions of Aeneas in Troy ii. 339 ff., ends with Coroebus, and the poet proceeds to tell quite a little about this character:

addunt se socios Rhipeus et maximus armis
Epytus, oblati per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque
et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus
Mygdonides--illis ad Troiam forte diebus
venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore
et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
audierit!

Coroebus here replaces Othryoneus of the account in the Iliad. The whole passage is to bring into the foreground a character who is soon to play a particular part, for Coroebus, in youthful exuberance, suggests an exchange of armor which leads to disastrous results, including his own death. Heinze, in discussing the incident,¹ regards as a happy invention of Vergil's that Coroebus should perish in battle for his bride. The account of his death and that of his companions, taken together with the passage quoted just above, makes a very neat framework for the whole account, all but one of those in the list being named again ii. 424 ff.:

primusque Coroebus
Penelei dextra divae armipotentis ad aram
procumbit; cedit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi
(dis aliter visum); pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque
confixi a sociis.

The point of immediate interest to our present discussion, however, is the fact that the list is here used to introduce, in apparently casual fashion, one who after a short interval is to become, without further introduction, the center of a striking scene. The other lists do not serve in the same way at all. That in i. 120 f. forms a climax to the account of the storm, as the ships are sunk in rapid succession by the waves. In ii. 261 ff. the

¹Heinze, pp. 36 ff.

poet undertakes to present a force numerous and powerful enough to accomplish such deeds in the city as will throw it open to the Greeks. The list of defenders of the camp in x. 123 ff. is followed by an account of the individual activity of others, the effect being similar to that of lists of slain. The three companions of Camilla are named after Camilla herself, and merely form part of her company; they are never named again.

C. Other Mass Scenes

The next sub-heading under characters in mass scenes is that of persons who appear in such scenes, but not in lists or catalogues. In this category fall 137 persons, regarding fifty-four of whom there is no information except the name.¹ The in-

¹The full list, with asterisks for those concerning whom detail is given, is as follows:

1. 41 *Ajax	ix. 592 *Numanus	x. 402 *Teuthras
458 *Menelaus	633 Remulus	403 *Tyres
	672 *Pandarus	414 Strymonius
ii. 7 *Ulysses	672 *Bitias	415 Thoas
263 *Neoptolemus	696 *Antiphates	424 *Imaon
371 Androgeos	762 Phaleris	521 *Magus
425 Penelopeus	762 Gyges	537 *Haemonides
435 *Iphitus	765 Halys	545 *Anxur
435 *Pelias	765 Phegeus	550 *Tarquitus
476 *Periphas	768 Lynceus	570 Niphaeus
477 *Automedon	772 *Amycus	575 *Lucagus
526 *Polites	774 *Clytius	696 *Hebrus
762 Phoenix	774 *Cretheus	697 Latagus
		697 Palmus
vii. 485 *Tyrrhus	x. 128 *Acmon	702 *Euanthes
532 *Almo	139 *Ismarus	702 *Mimas
535 *Galaesus	312 *Theron	719 *Acron
	315 *Lichas	732 *Orodes
ix. 325 *Rhamnes	317 *Cisseus	747 Caedicus
330 Remus	318 *Gyas	747 Alcatous
370 *Volcens	322 Pharus	747 Sacrator
412 Sulmo	325 *Clytius	747 Hydaspes
418 Tagus	325 *Cydon	748 Parthenius
454 Numa	337 *Maecn	748 Rapo
544 *Helenor	338 *Alcanor	748 *Orses
545 *Lycus	342 Numitor	749 Clonius
570 Lucetius	346 Dryops	749 *Erichaetes
571 Emathion	381 Lagus	751 *Agis
571 *Liger	384 *Hisbo	752 *Valerus
571 *Asilas	388 Sthenius	753 Thronius
573 Ortygius	389 *Anchemolus	753 Salius
573 Caeneus	391 *Larides	753 *Nealces
576 Privernus	391 *Thymber	778 *Antores
576 Themillas	399 Rhoeteus	
581 *Arcens' son	400 Ilus	xi. 429 *Tolumnius

formation given is biographical in the case of fifty-nine individuals.¹ This is distributed as follows among the different kinds of biographical detail. There is some genealogical detail about thirty-six, five are called companions of other heroes, the home or race of ten is given. These there seems no need of listing. The occupations of nine are mentioned; Rhamnes ix. 325 is a king and augur, Tolumnius xi. 429 is an augur, Haemonides x. 537 and Chloereus xi. 768 are priests, Tyrrhus vii. 485 and Alsus xii. 304 are shepherds, Cretheus ix. 774 is a musician, Amycus ix. 772 a hunter, and Menoetes xii. 517 a fisherman. One, Magus x. 521, mentions his wealth at home, as he appeals for his life, and Galaesus' riches are listed vii. 536 ff. Something of the personal history of two, Lichas x. 315 and Anchemolus x. 389, is given. There is physical detail of some sort concerning thirty-three. For the most part, this consists of epithets or brief phrases only,² since there are only eight of whom there is any real de-

xi. 463 Volusus	xi. 768 *Chloereus	xii. 459 Arcetius
612 Tyrrhenus	869 *Atinas	459 Epulo
612 *Aconteus		505 *Sucro
636 *Orsilochus	xii. 298 Corynaeus	509 *Amycus
636 Remulus	299 *Ebysus	509 *Diores
640 Iollas	304 Podalirius	517 *Menoetes
642 *Herminius	304 *Alsus	529 *Murranus
666 *Euneus	343 *Glaucus	535 *Hyllus
670 Liris	343 *Lades	538 *Cretheus
670 Pagasus	346 *Eumedes	539 Cupencus
673 *Amaster	371 Phegeus	542 *Aeclus
677 *Ornytus	458 Thymbraeus	651 Saces
690 *Butes	458 *Osiris	

¹Since several different kinds of detail may be given about one person, it is inevitable that the sum of the figures given under separate kinds of detail will be greater than the total given for the group as a whole.

²Following are the expressions used of these individuals of size: ingens of Periphas ii. 476 and Pandarus ix. 735, xi. 396, immanis of Gyas x. 318, duo maxima Teucrum / corpora of Orsilochus and Butes xi. 690, maximus of Theron x. 312, and gravis of Osiris xii. 458; of endurance: durus of Ulysses ii. 7 and Cisseus x. 317, prae-durus viribus of Orses x. 748; of age: iuvēnis of Almo vii. 531, primaevus of Helenor ix. 545, senior of Galaesus vii. 535, aevō iam / gravior of Iphitus ii. 435; of general excellence: optimus of Teuthras x. 402, egregius of Antores x. 778, pars belli laud temnenda of Oroles x. 737, laud expers . . . virtutis avitae of Valerus x. 752, vi patria of Neoptolemus ii. 491; of special skills: with the arrow, Asilas ix. 572; with the jav-

scription. These deserve individual consideration. The appearance of the youth Clytius is described x. 325, flaventem prima lanugine malas, and in relating the death of Hyllus xii. 535, the poet speaks of his aurata tempora, that is, his "gold-bound temples." Herminius is vividly pictured xi. 641 ff.:

ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis
deicit Herminium, nudo cui vertice fulva
caesaries nudique umeri (nec vulnera terrent)--
tantus in arma patet.

The descriptions of the others are concerned chiefly with dress and equipment. Arcens' son, whose own name is not mentioned, appears ix. 581 ff.:

stabat in egregiis Arcentis filius armis
pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera,
insignis facie, genitor quem miserat Arcens
eductum Martis luco Symaethia circum
flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici.

Acron is described in x. 722 as

purpureum pennis et pactae coniugis ostro.

Of Ornytus there is a striking picture in xi. 677 ff.:

procul Ornytus armis
ignotis et equo venator Iapyge fertur,
cui pellis latos umeros erepta iuvenco
pugnatori operit, caput ingens oris hiatus
et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis,
agrestisque manus armat sparus; ipse catervis
vertitur in mediis et toto vertice supra est.

In x. 537 ff. we meet one called Haemonides, which may be a patronymic:

nec procul Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta,
totus conlucens veste atque insignibus albis.

The fullest description is that of Chloereus in xi. 768 ff.:

Forte sacer Cybello Chloereus olimque sacerdos
insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis
spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis aënis
in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.
ipse peregrina ferrugine clarus et ostro
spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu;
aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea vati
cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis
carbasseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,
pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum.

Further discussion of these descriptions will be reserved until

elin, Liger ix. 572; with javelin and arrow, Nealcus x. 753;
of speed: Lycus is swifter of foot than his comrade in ix. 556,
and Pelias is slow because of a wound ii. 436;
of personal appearance: Ebysus has a heavy beard xii. 300.

we consider the question of style and technique (pp. 22 ff., especially p. 24).

There is some detail regarding inner qualities of fourteen persons, conveyed in the case of nine through single unconvincing epithets, superbus, atrox, acer, and fortis.¹ Concerned also with courage in battle, but specifying an inner and an outer aspect of it, is the description of Eumedes in xii. 346 ff.:

Parte alia media Eumedes in proelia fertur,
antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis,
nomine avum referens, animo manibusque parentem

There follows a brief comment on Dolon's escapade in the Iliad.² Anxur is pictured as a youth of boastful self-confidence x. 547 ff.:

(dixerat ille aliquid magnum vimque adfore verbo
crediderat, caeloque animum fortasse ferebat
canitiemque sibi et longos promiserat annos).

Galaesus is briefly characterized in vii. 536 f. as iustissimus unus / qui fuit, and Cydon is marked for a trait which is emotional, in that he was always indulging in love affairs with young men x. 326 f. The characterization of Ulysses is very definite, although accomplished only by the use of epithet and phrase, rather than by fuller description. We have already remarked that he is called durus in ii. 7 and dirus in ii. 261, 762. He is referred to as saevus by Aeneas in iii. 273. Most emphasis, however, is laid on his scheming, for he is called pellax in ii. 90, scelerum inventor in ii. 164, hortator scelerum in vi. 529, and fandi fictor in ix. 602. This is particularly interesting in its relation to the characterization of Odysseus in the Iliad, where all the

¹Superbus of Neoptolemus by Andromache iii. 326 and of Rhamnes ix. 324; atrox of Volcens ix. 420, where it may be temporary but seems to indicate a violent temper; fortis of Numamus ix. 592 and in the superlative of Cretheus xii. 538; acer of Lucagus x. 577, where it seems to be temporary and largely physical, and of Aconteus xi. 612 and Atinas xi. 869; xii. 661, in which cases it seems to be permanent, and in the superlative of Ajax Oileus ii. 414. Reference should perhaps be made to the study by Nicholas Moseley on the Aeneid, Characters and Epithets (New Haven, 1926), which discusses the epithets, and maintains in part (p. 2), "that where the character concerned was created by him the choice of epithets was made in relation to plot or action; that where metrical convenience or metrical effect made the use of any epithet expedient it was, nevertheless, not allowed to be unrelated to plot or action."

²This is a digression similar to those discussed on p. 7. In the Iliad, Dolon is represented as foolhardy rather than brave.

emphasis is put on his craft and cunning.¹ It is quite natural that the Trojan point of view should represent him in less favorable light than the Greek, and to this primarily is due the imputation of deceitfulness, probably. In connection with fandl factor one also thinks specifically of the extended fabrications at intervals in the Odyssey.

In order to compare the content here considered with that of similar characters in Homer, we may give the figures for a group almost equal in number to our group and of the same general nature, those who are slain in mass scenes of battle, but not in lists. Of these there are some 129 in the Iliad, of 42 of whom no information except the name is given, as compared with 137 and 54 in the Aeneid. In the following account of the distribution of information, the figures in parentheses are the corresponding numbers for the Aeneid, already given. Of the 87 (83) of whom some information is given, there is biographical detail concerning each one (59). This has to do with genealogy in the case of 74 (36), with companions of 9 (9), with the home or race of 20 (10), with the occupations of 3 (7), with the circumstances of 6 (2), and with the personal history of 3 (2). There are 28 (33) about whom there is some sort of physical detail, but in 25 cases this is given purely by epithets, which are mostly conventional and weak in force. There is nothing whatever in the Homeric account of the characters whom we are considering to compare with the descriptions quoted from the Aeneid. Of detail concerning inner qualities there is some mention in the case of two (14) characters, Dolops, on whose prowess in battle there is special comment in Il. xv. 525, 527, and Axylus, who is characterized in a manner extremely rare in Homer, Il. vi. 13 ff.: "that dwelt in established Arisbe, a man of substance dear to his fellows; for his dwelling was by the roadside and he entertained all men." From these figures we see again how much greater emphasis Homer

¹Helen, pointing him out to Priam, says, "he is skilled in all the ways of wile and cunning device," iii. 202. The epithets used of him suggest the same quality, e.g., "Odysseus of many devices" i. 311 and "peer of Zeus in counsel" ii. 169, both frequently repeated. It is cunning which enables him to gain a draw in wrestling Ajax in the games, and Diomed, in choosing a companion for his hazardous venture to the Trojan camp, says he could not fail to choose Odysseus, "whose heart is passing eager, and his spirit so manful; . . . for he excelleth in understanding," x. 242 ff. It is he who suggests the plan which traps Dolon.

puts on genealogy particularly, in comparison with Vergil, and how much more there is of physical and inner detail in Vergil, even though it seems scanty there too. Apollonius has practically avoided mass scenes of this type. About the only persons in the Argonautica who would fall in this group are the Cyzicans slain in battle with the Argonauts, and some of the Bebrycians, a total of fifteen persons. Four have brief epithets, of which three are physical, and the fourth is about like acer.

Such information as there is concerning these characters is usually given by the poet directly. However, Vergil is fond of using apostrophe, and we find six instances of characters directly addressed by the poet, Ismarus x. 139, Cydon x. 325, Lari des and Thymber x. 391, Teuthras x. 402, Cretheus xii. 538, and Aeolus xii. 542. In one case, a complimentary phrase is used of a hero by an enemy warrior who exults over slaying him, when Orodes is mentioned by Mezentius in x. 737 thus:

'pars belli haud temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.'

Magus, appealing to Aeneas to spare his life, says that he has much wealth at home, implying that he will offer a worthy ransom x. 526 ff. There are cases also in which something is said of one character by another, but in the present instances this is limited to epithets. Andromache in speaking to Aeneas of Neoptolemus calls him superbus iii. 326, and all the epithets used of Ulysses of course are of this type, since both these characters appear only in Aeneas' account of his adventures in Troy and in mention by others. The adjectives dirus, durus, saevus, Ithacus, and the phrase scelerum inventor are applied to him by Aeneas, pellax by Sinon, hortator scelerum by Delphobus, and fandi fictor by Ascanius, all of whom are speaking as enemies. In the Iliad, Adrestus makes an appeal to his captor Menelaus in vi. 46 ff., and Dolon, in very similar words, to Odysseus in x. 378 ff., from which Vergil clearly borrowed in the appeal of Magus to Aeneas. There are a number of other instances in which Homeric heroes give information about themselves, chiefly in the boasts they make before engaging in single combat. These usually include a detailed genealogy.¹ Vergil avoids stopping the flow of his narrative to include such remarks, but in one case he represents a

¹Longest and fullest is that of Aeneas in Il. xx. 215 ff., and quite similar is Glaucus' boast to Diomed in vi. 152 ff.

character as making such a speech, without recording what he said. This is *Murranus* xii. 529 f.:

atavos et avorum antiqua sonantem
nomina per regesque actum genus omne Latinos.

Most interesting from a stylistic point of view is the emergence here of real personal description. The vividness of the descriptions, their appeal to the eye, and in particular the prominence of color,¹ are noteworthy. Of details regarding color, we may note *Acron's* crimson plumes and purple raiment, *Clytius'* cheeks with golden down, *Hyllus'* gold-bound temples, even *Haemonides'* white robes, then the embroidered scarf and blue worn by *Arcens'* son, and *Chloereus'* blue² and scarlet raiment, the golden clasp and bow and helmet, the red-gold scarf holder, and embroidered leggings. The poet displays certainly a keen sensitivity to visual stimuli, and particularly to color. There is little which one can find in *Homer* and *Apollonius* to compare with these passages, but what is found may be quoted here, rather for contrast than for comparison. In *Iliad* ii. 217 ff., there is a description of the personal appearance of *Thersites*, interesting in its detail, but even more in that it is almost unique in *Homer*: "Bandy-legged was he, and lame of one foot, and his two shoulders

¹F. X. M. J. Roiron, *L'imagination auditive de Virgile* (Paris, 1908), p. 540, remarks that words of color are very frequent in *Vergil*, and gives a table of occurrences in the works of the poet. He lists six colors which he says are mentioned 455 times in the *Aeneid*, white, black, red, yellow, green, blue, in order of frequency. He lists occurrences only by books, without references to individual passages. Hermann Gauger, *Optische und akustische Sinnesdaten in den Dichtungen des Vergil und Horaz* (Stuttgart, 1932), compares the two ancient poets with each other and with modern poets in their use of color. He gives on page 69 a table of colors and the occurrences of each by books, giving many more colors than Roiron, and getting different results. He finds a total of 557 occurrences, and, for example, gives 25 occurrences of blue as against 4 in Roiron. Gauger's summary indicates that color words are rarer in the *Aeneid* than in the *Bucolics* or *Georgics*, in fact rarer in the *Aeneid* than in most of the poets considered, but far commoner than in *Homer*. *Apollonius* is not mentioned.

²The words for blue are *ferrugine* *Hibera* ix. 582 and *pe-regrina* *ferrugine* xi. 772. It is uncertain what the color involved is. The *Thesaurus* quotes *Nonius*, p. 549, 2 as follows: "ferrugineum colorem ferri similem esse volunt: vere autem ferrugineus color caeruleus est." *Servius* on *Aen.* ix. 582 says, "ferrugo coloris genus est, qui vicinus est purpurae subnigrae," but on xi. 772, "quidam purpuram accipiunt, quod eius prima tinctura ferrugineo colore est."

rounded, arched down upon his chest; and over them his head was warped, and a scanty stubble sprouted on it." The only similar description in Homer is that given Penelope by Odysseus of his herald Eurybates, Od. xix. 246: "he was round-shouldered, black-skinned, and curly-headed." Apollonius gives a description of the personal appearance of Phineus, but with more minute detail, intended apparently to excite pity and horror, Argon. ii. 197 ff.: "And he rose from his couch, like a lifeless dream, bowed over his staff, and crept to the door on his withered feet, feeling the walls; and as he moved, his limbs trembled for weakness and age; and his parched skin was caked with dirt, and naught but the skin held his bones together." There are two descriptions in Homer concerned with a character's equipment. First is that of Dolon as he prepares to set out, Il. x. 333 ff.: "he cast on his shoulders his crooked bow, and did on thereover the skin of a grey wolf, and on his head a helm of ferret-skin, and took a sharp javelin." Here the form is narrative, but the passage is still really descriptive. The mention of the wolf skin may have suggested to Vergil part of his picture of Ornytus xi. 681. The other description is that of Odysseus' father Laertes in Odyssey xxiv. 227 ff. when Aeneas finds him after his return: "He was clothed in a filthy doublet, patched and unseemly, with clouted leggings of oxhide bound about his legs, against the scratches of the thorns, and long sleeves over his hands by reason of the brambles, and on his head he wore a goatskin cap." Much more like Vergil in its detail of equipment is the description in Apollonius of the two sons of Boreas, Calais and Zetes, Argon. i. 219 ff.: "There they were making their dusky wings quiver upon their ankles on both sides as they rose, a great wonder to behold, wings that gleamed with golden scales: and round their backs from the top of the head and neck, hither and thither, their dark tresses were being shaken by the wind." There is a solid matter-of-factness in the Homeric descriptions, with brevity of detail. Apollonius gives ample and vivid detail, but in the case of Phineus, it is of an unpleasant, repulsive nature, which tends to arouse horror as well as pity, and in the case of Calais and Zetes, it is of a spectacular nature tending to arouse surprise and wonder, for after all they are Argonauts, and so mostly human, if mythical. In Vergil, there is equal wealth of detail, but handled with delicacy and restraint, appealing to the gentler, more pleasant emotions.

The description of Chloereus xi. 768 ff. is of real importance in the action, for the beauty of his equipment caught Camilla's eye and inspired such eagerness to acquire it that she immediately pursued him, and exposed herself to a fatal attack. Chloereus' beautiful attire has a real function in accomplishing Camilla's death, and so is fully motivated. Heinze (p. 205) mentions briefly each of these descriptions, and points out that each one is fitted into the action and given some point in determining the manner or circumstances of the hero's death. True though this may be, none except that of Chloereus affects any event of major importance; except for the enrichment they give the narrative, they might have been omitted without injuring the progress of events. However, the descriptions quoted from the Homeric poems are not given even this much influence over the subsequent action. In the Argonautica, the description of Phineus has a connection with the action, for it explains in part the sympathy of the Argonauts, and similarly the peculiar faculties of the sons of Boreas enable them to pursue the Harpies, and rid Phineus of this pest.

We have now considered all the characters who appear in mass scenes, and it may be well to put together the figures for this whole category, in order that we may see more clearly just what information is given. We have already given the figures for the catalogues, including that in Apollonius. Aside from the catalogue, there are very few mass characters in the Argonautica, and the same is true of the Odyssey. Therefore we shall give the totals only for the Iliad and Aeneid. There are about three-fourths as many characters of this sort in the Aeneid as in the Iliad, and a table of approximate percentages is given to facilitate comparison. The exact figures have no importance, but the relations between them make clear certain facts. In an effort to indicate the proportion of detail about inner qualities in the Aeneid which is given by the weak epithets we have discussed, the first figure given will include these epithets, but the figure in parentheses will show what is left if these are eliminated. In the Iliad, the problem is similar for the epithets both of physical and inner qualities, and the same principle will be followed. (See the table on the following page.) The two poets are very close together in the proportion of characters to whom they devote some attention aside from mere naming. Homer is definitely

more interested in biographical detail, particularly in matters of genealogy and residence, and almost totally neglects detail of physical or inner qualities, except for epithets mainly conventional. Vergil, on the other hand, follows epic tradition in mentioning frequently genealogy and home, but varies his account by including mention of physical and inner qualities, so that about a third have one or the other.

	Number		Percentage	
	<u>Iliad</u>	<u>Aeneid</u>	<u>Iliad</u>	<u>Aeneid</u>
Total number.....	351	263	100	100
No detail at all....	156	121	44	46
Biographical.....	176	97	50	35
Genealogical.....	131	56	37	21
Companion.....	9	5	2.5	2
Home or race.....	81	32	23	12
Occupation.....	7	16	2	6
Circumstances.....	6	3	2	1
Personal history..	3	5	1	2
Physical.....	68(8)	57	19 (2)	22
Inner qualities.....	3(2)	28(12)	0.9(.6)	11(5)
Miscellaneous.....	2	5	0.6	2

Stylistically, the most important point is Vergil's greater care in coordinating the elements of his story, for example in using a list as a stage in the appearance of a character in the action, in giving the lists of slain a function in the expansion and contraction of the narrative of battle scenes, and in making use of the descriptions of individuals as a factor in determining their fate. In the catalogue, Vergil seems to aim to portray individuals as distinct from one another, to make them stand out from one another, and within the necessary limits to interest the reader in them as persons. In the mass scenes, it is impossible to attempt this for more than a few, yet even here the poet occasionally brings someone out from the throng as an individual.

This may be done through action, as is frequently the case, or through description or mention of some individual trait. Description of physical appearance is undertaken with considerable success in several instances, and makes a real contribution to the interest of the narrative; description of character is rarer, and when found is brief and restricted.

CHAPTER II

LESSER CHARACTERS APPEARING AS INDIVIDUALS

Having considered what descriptive and identifying detail is given concerning characters who appear in lists or only in mass scenes, we turn to those who, appearing elsewhere, have a more distinct, individual part in the story. They are much fewer in number but far more important in the action.

A. Incidental Characters

Our first sub-heading, consisting of incidental characters, includes the least important of this class, for they are the maids, servants, heralds, attendants, priests and priestesses, messengers, companions, some minor warriors, and others, needed in the development of the story, but never prominent. There are thirty-seven persons included in this group,¹ of whom seven are merely named. Some information of a biographical nature is found in the case of twenty-four, about two-thirds. This has to do with genealogy in the case of five, with companions in the case of six, with the home or race of seven, with the occupation of twelve, and the personal history of one. It is not surprising that the proportion of cases in which the occupation is mentioned

¹The list is as follows. The names are arranged alphabetically, with the references for their first appearance. Asterisks indicate those of whom no information is given.

Acca xi. 820	*Corynaeus vi. 228	Opis xi. 532
Achates i. 120	Epytides v. 547	Orontes i. 113
Accoetes xi. 30	*Eumelus v. 665	Osinus x. 655
*Actor ix. 500	Iarbas iv. 36	Phegeus v. 263
Aletes i. 121	*Idaeus ix. 500	Pholoe v. 285
Anius iii. 80	*Idmon xii. 75	Potitius viii. 269
Antheus i. 181	Ilioneus i. 120	Pyrgo v. 645
Barce iv. 632	Iopas i. 740	Sagaris v. 263
*Bitias i. 738	Leucaspis vi. 334	Serestus i. 611
Caicus i. 183	Misenus iii. 239	Silvia vii. 487
Caieta vii. 2	Musaeus vi. 667	Tarchon viii. 506
Capys i. 183	Nautes v. 704	*Venulus viii. 9
Cassandra ii. 246		

is so high, since very often it is essential to the story, and is not due to an effort to interest the reader in the person. There are two servants of Mnesteus, Phegeus and Sagaris v. 263; three nurses, Barce, nurse of Sychaeus iv. 632, Pyrgo, nurse of Priam's children v. 645, Caieta, Aeneas' nurse vii. 2; the bard Iopas i. 740; the poet Musaeus in Hades vi. 667; Cassandra as a sooth-sayer and prophetess ii. 246, iii. 187, v. 636; Potitius a priest viii. 269; Anius a king and priest of Delos iii. 80; Tarchon viii. 506, x. 149 king of the Etruscans; and Iarbas iv. 36 f. an African chieftain. The one whose personal history is given is Misenus. There are eleven, nearly a third, of whom there is some information concerned with physical matters. There are four elderly men, Acoetes, Aletes, Ilioneus, and Nautes, with varied epithets indicating their age. The stature of Musaeus is mentioned vi. 668, umeris exstantem altis. The bard Iopas is crinitus i. 740, an epithet used elsewhere in the Aeneid only of Apollo ix. 638. Also concerned with personal appearance is the reference to Opis as dea pulcherrima in xi. 852. She is also called velox in xi. 532. The designation of Pholoe as operum haud ignara Minervae v. 284 seems intended to indicate peculiar fitness for her place as household servant. In the case of Anius, a king and priest of Phoebus, the detail concerns the equipment of his occupation as priest iii. 81:

vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro.

Misenus is mentioned for his excellence as a trumpeter and as a spearman vi. 164 ff.:

quo non praestantior alter
aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu.
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
et lituo pugnans insignis obibat et hasta.

Tarchon has the epithet igneus xi. 746, which seems to be physical, but may be temporary. Eight have designations applying to inner qualities, but in the case of four persons, these consist merely of the epithets acer or fortis. Acer is used of Orontes i. 220 and Serestus three times ix. 171, 779, xii. 549. Fortis is used of Achates i. 120, Serestus iv. 288, xii. 561, and in the superlative of Misenus vi. 169. Fidus is used of five different persons, particularly of Achates,¹ who is frequently so designated

¹In the mind of the average reader, fidus and Achates are closely associated. The strength of the impression created is due probably to the frequency of repetition of the phrase fidus

from i. 188 on, but also of Acca xi. 821, Aletes ix. 307, Epyti-
des v. 547, and Orontes i. 113. Clearly it is intended to be
taken literally and as carrying some weight in the case of Achates,
and when applied to Acca, it is somewhat amplified xi. 821 f.:

fida ante alias quae sola Camillae,
quicum partiri curas.

Aletes and Nautes are particularly noted as possessing the wisdom
which regularly goes with age in the Aeneid. Aletes ix. 246 is
annis gravis atque animi maturus, and Nautes is multaque insignem
. . . . arte v. 705. There is here genuine recognition of inner
qualities, but no great emphasis on them. Finally, of three per-
sons, we are told that they gave their names to places along the
route, Aeneas' nurse Caieta vii. 1-4, Capys x. 145, and Misemus
vi. 234 ff.

To indicate the situation in the three earlier epics as
compared with Vergil, it may be simplest and quickest to give the
figures for the four poems in tabular form, and then to comment
on certain points.

	<u>Iliad</u>	<u>Odys.</u>	<u>Argon.</u>	<u>Aeneid</u>
Total characters.....	53	53	29	37
Name only.....	0	3	2	7
Biographical.....	48	50	22	24
Genealogical.....	26	32	14	5
Companion.....	0	1	1	6
Home or race.....	10	6	1	6
Occupation.....	20	24	5	12
Circumstances.....	0	1	0	0
Personal hist.....	0	3	8	1
Physical.....	9	8	2	11
Inner qualities.....	2	2	1	8
Miscellaneous.....	0	0	1	3

Achates, and to the regularity with which he is Aeneas' chosen
companion. To this extent, the quality is exemplified in the ac-
tion, but Achates is never independently prominent, and really
takes very little part. Furthermore, loyalty and friendship seem
to make a special appeal to the modern reader, so that the nature
of the quality emphasized adds to its effectiveness.

One notes the increase in the number of those of whom no information at all is given; secondly, that biographical detail is somewhat less frequent in Apollonius and Vergil than in Homer, but, more important, that while such detail is predominantly genealogical in Homer and Apollonius, this is not at all the case in Vergil; thirdly, that there is a significant increase in the number of those of whose physical or inner qualities something is said. The situation in regard to physical qualities is as follows. In the Iliad, the nine are the eight aged counsellors who join Priam on the city wall and Hecamede, Nestor's slave, xi. 624, whose excellence is very like that of the slave girl Pholoe in the Aeneid. In the corresponding eight in the Odyssey there is more variety. Four are elderly, Euryalus is beautiful, the bard Demodocus is blind, Arnaeus the beggar is large and has a great appetite, and Piraeus is skilled as a spearman. Also the dress and appearance of Laertes are described in a passage already quoted as an example of description. The two in the Argonautica are Polyxo and Argus, the brief descriptions of whom are worth quoting. Polyxo, the nurse of Hypsipyle, rises to address the Lemnian women i. 668 ff., "for very age halting upon her withered feet, bowed over a staff." Of Argus, it is a detail about his equipment i. 324 f., he "had cast round his shoulders the hide of a bull reaching to his feet, with the black hair upon it." In these two instances, we find brief but genuine personal description of a sort not found in characters of this group either in Homer or in Vergil. The physical detail in Vergil, more frequent than in either of his predecessors, is, in the case of these incidental characters, more similar in nature to that usually found in Homer.

In regard to detail about inner qualities, we find the following situation. In the Iliad, reference is made clearly and definitely to the courage of Asteropaeus and the good judgment of Polydamas. In xii. 102, Sarpedon chooses Asteropaeus as co-leader with Glaucus against the Greek wall because these two are next to him in courage. Polydamas is compared with Hector in xviii. 249 ff., and said to be superior in judgment. He proceeds to give wise advice, which Hector fails to follow, to his sorrow. In the Odyssey, the two are Ctesippus and Echeueus. Echeueus vii. 155 is an elder among the Phaeacians, "excellent in speech and skilled in much wisdom of old time," who then gives counsel to Alcinous. Ctesippus is one of the suitors xx. 288, having the epithet ἀγε-

μίστις εἰδώς, "of a lawless heart." This quality is immediately illustrated, since he hurls an ox-foot at Odysseus, still unrecognized, with a strong insult, and is sharply rebuked by Telemachus. The one example from the Argonautica is Idas iii. 516, who "in his pride" volunteers for the task of yoking Aetes' oxen. The quality is really self-confidence. These are the examples in the earlier poets of references, in the case of incidental characters, to inner qualities which are more than unconvincing epithets. In nature, if not in number, they compare favorably with those in the Aeneid.

We may note briefly that Cleite in Argon. i. 1069 gives her name to a fountain, as three persons in the Aeneid give theirs to places.

Inasmuch as all these characters are brought into the story for some purpose other than to supply victims or warriors in battle, it is natural that something should be said about them. The number of those who are mere names drops sharply, and as a matter of fact, the context regularly indicates the function of these few and gives some clue to their identity. Of others, as we have seen, there is more information. There is great variation within the group, also, in the importance of the characters in the story. A few, like Phegeus and Sagaris, Idaeus and Actor, play no real part in the action at all. Caieta is of this type, but introduced because of the legend that she gave her name to Gaeta.¹ A number of others serve as messengers merely, while others, as Iarbas, Ilioneus, and Achates, have a closer connection with the development of the story, but only a very minor part. The poet in general does not devote much effort to making them real, living individuals. Possible exceptions are Iarbas and Ilioneus, who are very briefly described but characterized in speech and action, and Misenus, of whom more is said by the poet, on the occasion of his being found dead, than of any of the others, vi. 164-74.

Most of these characters are introduced by the poet directly, only Caieta by apostrophe, and mostly at the time of their entry. However, Tarchon is mentioned and his position explained before he appears. Evander speaks of him to Aeneas viii. 506, saying that Tarchon had offered him command over the Etruscans,

¹Cf. Heinze, p. 454, n. 1, and p. 460.

who, aroused to passion to attack Mezentius, had been advised by their soothsayer to seek a leader from outside their people. Aeneas approaches the camp of Tarchon and the Etruscans in viii. 603 ff., but the meeting with Tarchon is not related until x. 148 ff. In somewhat similar fashion, Iarbas is mentioned before his appearance. Anna speaks of him to Dido in words which indicate his position as an African chieftain, and inform the reader that Dido had declined him as a suitor, iv. 36 ff. When he appears 198 ff., the only added detail concerns his parentage, and his devotion to Jupiter. There is no example of such apostrophe, or information about a character before his appearance, in the case of any of the incidental characters in Homer and Apollonius. Instances of similar and other techniques in these two poets will be reserved, therefore, until a more general discussion, covering a wider range of types.

B. Characters in Shorter Episodes

Our second heading is individuals who appear in shorter episodes,¹ including, as special sub-headings, individuals whose likeness gods assume as a disguise in approaching mortals, the contestants in the games, and all others in shorter episodes. By shorter episodes we mean those in which the characters do not assume sufficient prominence to be regarded as prominent or foreground characters in the poem as a whole. The first two of the groups above are so easily distinguished, and offer such interesting points of comparison with similar groups in Homer particularly, that it seems worth while to consider them apart from the rest.

¹The term episode, as used here and throughout this dissertation, is intended to refer to elements or phases of the story which have a certain unity of their own, within the general theme of the whole. Heinze uses the term to mean digressive elements, disjoined from the main theme, and concentrates on proving that Vergil does not use episodes, in this sense. Our aim is to distinguish characters active only within a limited part of the action as a whole from those whose activity is more extended. The episodes of which we are speaking are closely connected with the main theme, and have their part in the development of the story. They vary, however, in length and importance.

Gods in Disguise

There are six persons in whose likeness gods appear to mortals. They are, in order of appearance, Beroe v. 620, Phorbas v. 842, Calybe vii. 419, Butes ix. 647, Camers xii. 224, and Metiscus xii. 469. All but Phorbas are clearly identified, but of him nothing whatever is said. There is some biographical detail concerning each of the other five. This is genealogical in the case of two, but unusually indefinite. Beroe is called the wife of Tmarian Doryclus, a matter strictly about family connection rather than genealogy, and Camers is said to be of high ancestry, genus a proavis ingens. Two also are companions of others; Butes attends Anchises and then Ascanius, and Metiscus is charioteer of Turnus. As for race, Beroe is called Rhoeteian v. 646. The occupation of Calybe is mentioned, as Iunonis templique sacerdos. Physical detail is found in the case of three, the advanced age of each being emphasized. Beroe is longaeva, Calybe is anus, and Butes is antiquus and longaevus. Butes' crinis albos are also mentioned and there is considerable description of Calybe as the goddess assumes the disguise vii. 416 ff.:

in vultus sese transformat anilis
et frontem obscenam rugis arat, induit albos
cum vitta crinis, tum ramum innectit olivae;
fit Calybe Iunonis anus templique sacerdos. . . .

There is little detail about inner qualities. Butes is called fidus, and Camers acerrimus armis which seems as much physical as inner, but in addition there is mention of his high reputation for paterna virtus.

We may compare the content of similar references in the two earlier epic poets. In the Iliad, there are sixteen persons whose likeness gods assume, and in the Odyssey, three.¹ Of this

¹These are the following, in alphabetical order, with references to the occasion on which the disguise is assumed:

In the Iliad

Acamas v. 462	Mentes xvii. 73
Agenor xxi. 545	Periphas xvii. 323
Asius xvi. 717	Phaenops xvii. 583
Calchas xiii. 45	Phoenix xvii. 555
Delphobus xxii. 227	Polites ii. 791
Laodice iii. 122	Polyctor's son xxiv. 397
Laodocus iv. 87	Stentor v. 785
Lycaon xx. 81	Thoas xiii. 216

total of nineteen, there is some information about each one. Concerning seventeen, there is detail of a biographical nature, distributed as follows. It concerns genealogy in the case of fourteen or three-fourths of the total, one is companion of Odysseus, the homes of eight, the occupations or positions of four, and the circumstances of one are mentioned, and there is some personal history of three. Physical detail is given about seven. Asius is young and strong, Laodice is fairest of Priam's daughters, Laodocus is a stalwart warrior, Mentor is of advanced age, Polites is especially fleet of foot, and Stentor has a voice of bronze. The other is Thoas, who at a subsequent appearance is said to be skilled with the dart, an able warrior, and one of the best of the Achaeans in council. This last is the only detail that can be considered as referring to inner qualities. Apollonius avoids this sort of thing, having only one instance of a god in the guise of a named person. Triton appears to the Argonauts as a young man, and identifies himself by giving his supposed father's name and his home.

Gods assume mortal form usually to give advice or suggestions to one or more persons. Our poet must therefore have the god appear in a form appropriate to the occasion, although he may, and frequently does, have the god reveal his identity directly or indirectly, in order to increase the effect produced by his advice. The poet therefore undertakes to identify these persons, to tell us who they are, rather than to describe them, except incidentally. He gives such information as there is himself, directly. Five of the six persons involved in these disguises are clearly identified. The sixth, Phorbas, is quite different. Sleep assumes his form in v. 841 f. in order to approach Palinurus, suggests to him that he give up the tiller, and then, at his refusal, puts him to sleep by force. The poet tells us nothing about Phorbas at all. We assume that he is a member of the ship's company, and so had access to Palinurus, but since his words have no effect on the helmsman, we need to know nothing about him. Had Palinurus accepted his suggestion, the poet would have had to identify him more fully in order to make such action reasonable.

In the Odyssey

Mentes 1. 105

Mentor 11. 268, 401; xxii. 206; xxiv. 503, 548

Telemachus 11. 383

The others are all identified, and appropriate to the part they are to play. This is perhaps clearest in the case of Butes ix. 646 ff.:

formam tum vertitur oris
antiquum in Buten. hic Dardanio Anchisae
armiger ante fuit fidusque ad limina custos;
tum comitem Ascanio pater addidit. ibat Apollo
omnia longaevo similis vocemque coloremque
et crinis albos et saeva sonoribus arma.

We are impressed with his age, and his long and faithful service to the family. Heinze notes, in the case of Camers, that Juturna chooses a member of a prominent family, also held in the highest regard for his own merits, in order to gain her effect.¹

These divine appearances are discussed by Heinze further.² He points out that appearance in mortal form is only one of the ways in which the gods influence action, that Vergil tends to avoid appearances of the gods in their own form as too great a strain on the reader's credulity, and that when gods appear in mortal form, their real nature is usually revealed, either at their departure or, rarely, before. Juturna, who three times assumes the form of Metiscus, Turnus' charioteer, is known to Turnus, but this is natural since they are brother and sister. In the cases of Iris as Beroe, Allecto as Calybe, and Apollo as Butes, the divinity is recognized, while in the case of Juturna as Camers, an omen follows, which marks the advice as divinely inspired. That is, in these four cases, in which advice is given, the poet does not depend solely on the effectiveness of the disguise to produce the desired result, but in addition reveals the divine nature of the speaker. It is interesting that this revelation is handled differently in each case. When Iris appears as Beroe, one of the other Trojan women notes features of her appearance which suggest her divinity, but also knows that Beroe is ill and laments her inability to be present. Apollo as Butes is recognized by the manner of his departure and the rattle of his quiver. Allecto as Calybe, unsuccessful in arousing Turnus and rebuked rather sharply, practically becomes a fury again, with hissing snakes in her hair, rolling eyes, and dreadful countenance. Juturna's advice, given as Camers, is reinforced by an omen, without any interval for questioning it. Heinze also makes the point that when gods appear in mortal form, they do not ac-

¹Heinze, p. 232, n. 1.

²Heinze, pp. 311 ff.

tually change into men, but rather put on the appearance and dress of men as if a mask;¹ he refers to Beroe, in whose likeness Iris retains the brightness of eye, the voice and step of a goddess. This statement seems justified by the wording of the passages, despite the form fit Beroe and fit Calybe, for the precise points of similarity are frequently mentioned, as in the passage above concerning Butes, and, as there, the word similis or some equivalent is usually found.

There is precedent in Homer both for the recognition of gods despite the disguise, and for mention of the points of similarity. Of the nineteen disguises, thirteen are complete enough so that the god is not recognized. Of the others, Telemachus once suspects the divinity of Athena as Mentor, Od. xxii. 210; Poseidon as Calchas in the Iliad and Athena as Mentos in the Odyssey are revealed in the manner of their departure; Aeneas recognizes Apollo's face when he appears as Periphas, and Priam the voice of Iris as Polites, both in the Iliad; and Hermes, as he escorts Priam to Achilles' tent, pretends to be a son of Polyctor, but reveals his true identity orally just before he leaves. As for the other point, Homer invariably uses words of "likeness," and in seven instances specifies form, or shape, or both. In the Argonautica, Triton, pretending to be Eurylochus, reveals his identity when he takes up his trident and disappears.

One other point is of interest. Vergil never has gods assume the form of a character of prominence in the story, in fact it is doubtful if even one assumes the likeness of a character mentioned elsewhere in the poem. The possible exception is Camers. A Camers is named x. 562 in a list of persons whom Aeneas persequitur. We should naturally take this to mean that these men were slain. In that passage there is specific detail about Camers' father, his wealth, and his position as king in Amyclae. Of the Camers of xii. 224, whose guise Juturna assumes, the information is general,

(cui genus a proavis ingens clarumque paternae
nomen erat virtutis, et ipse acerrimus armis)

not in conflict with what was said in the other passage, nor yet

¹Heinze, p. 312: "Sie verwandeln sich nicht eigentlich in Menschen, sie legen fremde Gestalt und Kleidung nur wie eine Maske an." The poet says faciemque deae vestemque reponit; / fit Beroe v. 619 f.

giving any assurance that the two are the same. Duplicate names are so common in the Aeneid that no argument can be based on the repetition of the name. Contrary to the practice of Vergil, Homer represents gods as assuming the form of persons mentioned elsewhere, sometimes even of rather important characters. Of the sixteen characters in this group in the Iliad, seven appear elsewhere, Phoenix being the most prominent. Of the three in the Odyssey, Mentor and Telemachus appear elsewhere, and Telemachus is important.¹

Contestants in the Games

There are nineteen persons who take part in the games on the anniversary of Anchises' death, a number of whom appear elsewhere in other connections.² Of each there is some identification. Biographical information is found in the case of seventeen, the exceptions being Nisus and Euryalus, who appear later in a more important event, and are more fully introduced then, as we shall see. There is genealogical detail about five; four are the companions of others, the race of seven is mentioned and the occupation of eight, while there is detail regarding the personal history of one. Those whose occupations are mentioned are the four ship captains, Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, the helmsman Menoetes, the foresters (if such they are) of Acestes, Helymus and Panopes, and king Acestes himself. Dares is the one of whom some personal history is given, in connection with his volunteering for the boxing match. There is some physical detail about eight. The young Priam and Atys are called parvus and Atys also puer, and at the other extreme Menoetes is senior, while the age of Entellus and Acestes is mentioned. Euryalus is distinguished

¹The matter of divine appearances in the Homeric epics is discussed in detail by John A. Scott in an article "Phoenix in the Iliad," AJP, XXXIII (1912), 68-77. He states that "when a god appears in the form of a definite, named person a detailed description is immediately added, unless the god assumes the form of a person who has already been described or has appeared in the action of the poem." He points out that there is never any ambiguity as to the identity of the character involved.

²In the order of their appearance in Book v, these are:

Acestes 36	Menoetes 161	Patron 298	Hippocoon 492
Mnestheus 116	Nisus 294	Helymus 300	Eurytion 495
Gyas 118	Euryalus 294	Panopes 300	Priam 564
Sergestus 121	Diores 297	Dares 369	Atys 568
Cloanthus 122	Salius 298	Entellus 387	

for his youth and beauty, and Nisus is et ventis et fulminis oci-
or alis. Dares, Entellus, and Acestes are further described.
The match between Dares and Entellus is narrated with considerable
detail concerning the two in action, but there is also some per-
manent physical detail. Dares is vastis cum viribus v. 368 and
pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa 430, and in 376 his broad
shoulders are mentioned. Entellus' size and strength are brought
out in 422 f.:

et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
exiit atque ingens media consistit harena,

and in membris et mole valens 431, perhaps also in gravis 437. In
the case of Acestes, his appearance is briefly described as he
welcomes the Trojans v. 37:

horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae.

There is some detail about inner qualities of eight. Acer and
fortis account for only three; Mnesteus is acer v. 507, Gyas
fortis l. 222, 612, and Cloanthus fortis l. 222, 510, 612. Bonus
is used of Acestes l. 195 and of Eurytion v. 541, in each case in
connection with a generous act on the part of the character. Seg-
nis is used of Menoetes v. 173 in a context which suggests it has
a meaning opposite to that of acer, with about the same mixture
of inner and physical content, and in which it is applied to the
immediate situation, perhaps as an example of an enduring quality.
A genuine emotional state is mentioned in the case of Nisus, in
his love for Euryalus v. 296, (insignis) amore pio pueri. Finally,
there is one clear example of temporary emotion in Sergestus, de-
scribed in the course of the race as furens animi v. 202. The
meaning seems to be that his excitement and eagerness have over-
come his good sense and judgment. Under the heading of miscella-
neous information fall the references to four individuals as an-
cestors of Roman families, Mnesteus of the Memmii, Sergestus of
the Sergii, Cloanthus of the Cluentii, and Atys of the Atii.

A summary of the content of the descriptions of contes-
tants in the games in the Iliad would be practically useless for
comparative purposes, since of the fourteen persons who partici-
pate, all but one, Epeius, appear elsewhere in the poem, and
about half are characters of major importance in the Iliad, in-
cluding Agamemnon and Menelaus, Telamonian Ajax, Diomed, Odysseus,
and perhaps Antilochus and Meriones. Since Epeius, who alone ap-
pears only here, is clearly a model for Vergil in depicting Dares,
we shall consider him later. It may be stated that for all the

contestants in the Iliad, there is some genealogical detail, and for most, although with numerous exceptions, there is some physical detail which makes them logical contenders. Brief reference should be made to the passage in the eighth Odyssey in which sixteen Phaeacian youths take part in a series of contests, at which Odysseus is a spectator. All sixteen are named in succession in viii. 111 ff. The first eleven are mere names. The fathers of the other five are named, the last three being sons of king Alcinous. One is said to be second in beauty only to Laodamas, who is one of the three sons of Alcinous. Two others have epithets which are not distinctive.

Most of the characters appearing as participants in the games of the Aeneid are introduced directly by the poet, and no one of them by apostrophe. However, Eurytion is mentioned as follows in v. 495 ff.:

tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,
Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus
in medios telum torsiisti primus Achivos.

Here one who is not directly connected with the story is apostrophized, and there is a minor digression on the person thus brought in. Similar digressions we have found before, usually on the fathers of heroes.¹ Entellus is introduced by Acestes, who urges him to arise and accept the challenge of Dares, addressing him directly v. 389:

Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
and proceeds to remind him of his teacher Eryx and his renown throughout Sicily. Entellus' reply brings out a little further detail 394 ff.:

'non laudis amor nec gloria cessit
pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta
sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.
si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
exultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
venissem, nec dona moror.'

The passages quoted above (v. 422 f., 431, 437) are all in the words of the poet directly, but in the passages quoted here, we find an effective bit of technique, which brings out enough detail to satisfy the reader through direct address and reply, without including any detail not entirely appropriate to such an exchange of words. We are given a very clear impression of the

¹Cf. p. 7.

hero, which is later reinforced by brief description and then carried out in the action.

It is of interest to note to what extent the poet, in his description of these characters, undertakes to justify their participation in the contests on the basis of peculiar ability, and to compare his practice with Homer's. The chariot-race in the Iliad has five competitors, Eumelus, Diomed, Menelaus, Antilochus, and Meriones. All have appeared before, all prominently except Eumelus. He was named at the end of the catalogue as the one who drove the finest horses among the Greeks. Diomed in the fifth book had captured the horses of Aeneas, after having expressed in the highest terms his admiration for them, as descendants of those given Tros by Zeus v. 265 ff. These two are natural entrants. The others, though prominent in battle, have not been mentioned for the excellence of their teams, but some reference is made to the horses of each as they enter the race, and Nestor's words to Antilochus, admitting the inferiority of his horses, commend his cunning as an equal factor. Nothing is said to justify Meriones' entry, and he plays no part in the contest. In the boat-race in the Aeneid, the four contestants are all persons who have been named casually before among Aeneas' companions. There is no differentiation or individualization, except as three are ancestors of Roman families. Their selection seems more or less accidental, with the possible exception of Sergestus,¹ and what individuality they have is brought out in the action of the race, never in mention of them. In the foot-race in the Iliad, there are three contestants, Oilean Ajax, Odysseus, and again Antilochus. Oilean Ajax and Antilochus have been previously mentioned as fleet of foot, and Odysseus chiefly as crafty, and these designations are repeated of each as they enter the race. Odysseus wins, through an accident to Ajax, and his speed is commented on by Antilochus. In the Aeneid there are seven named contestants, and an indefinite

¹Heinze, p. 152, speaks of the difficulty of presenting the contestants as prominent men, although they have had no real part before, and sees the poet trying to solve the difficulty, with only slight success, by representing three of the four as ancestors of Roman families. The Roman reader, he says, would not easily supply from imagination specific qualities for an ancient Memmius (Mnestheus) or Cluentius (Cloanthus), as he might for a Fabius or an Appius, and no doubt did for a Sergius (Sergestus), from an association with L. Sergius Catilina.

number of others. First named are Nisus and Euryalus, the latter outstanding in youthful beauty, and the former for his devotion to his friend. Each of the others named is briefly identified, but only with biographical detail. There is nothing whatever to indicate why these individuals should volunteer. However, the net effect of the account of the race is to impress the reader with the great love of Nisus for Euryalus; the others hardly count at all, nor, in fact, does fleetness count. In the boxing-match in the Iliad, Epeius and Euryalus are opponents. Epeius appears for the first time, and is described as "a man great and valiant and skilled in boxing," then he boasts of his skill, and what he will do to his opponent. Euryalus has taken an active part in battle, and considerable biographical information is given concerning him, but his qualifications are general rather than specific, and he meets defeat almost without a battle. Vergil here outdoes Homer in indicating the qualifications of the opponents. To be sure, the account of Dares' past sounds more legendary than real,¹ yet the description of his "shadow-boxing" is realistic enough. Entellus' claims to consideration, as we have seen, were presented by Acestes, and, despite his hesitancy to enter, he is victorious. There are but two opponents in the archery contest in the Iliad, Teucer and Meriones. Teucer, true to his name, is throughout an excellent bowman, for example, in viii. 266 ff., but Cretan Meriones, although the Cretans were later known as archers, does not appear in that capacity anywhere else in the Iliad. In fact, he takes Teucer's bow to make his phenomenal shot. In the corresponding event in the Aeneid, nothing whatever is said to justify the entry of any one of the three contestants, except that Eurytion is brother of Pandarus, to whose part as an archer in the Iliad definite reference is made. He makes a shot very similar to that of Meriones in the Iliad. In the Homeric games, at least part of the contestants in each event are logical choices on the basis of what has been previously said of them, or of what is said when they enter, and most of the events have also one or more entrants not so qualified. To be sure, the victors in the various contests are not necessarily ones whose peculiar abilities have been mentioned before they take part, for Odysseus wins the foot-race, and Meriones the archery contest. Similarly, nothing

¹Aen. v. 370 ff.

is said of Polypoetes and Leonteus to indicate why they participate, yet the former wins the weight-throwing. Vergil seems to make no effort at all to justify the entry of individuals, except in the boxing-match, but he displays more care than Homer in developing the action and the fortunes of the competitors in the contests.

We may add that in the brief account of the demonstration games in the eighth Odyssey, no qualifications are mentioned for any of the young men, but in that case there is no narrative of the individual contests, in fact, only the barest statement of the names of the victors, which in itself is almost equivalent to saying that various ones were preeminent in certain skills. No one of these young men appears elsewhere.

This brings us to the next point, which is by no means original, that the participants in the games of the Aeneid take little or no part in the action of the rest of the poem, while those in the Iliad are for the most part not only known but prominent elsewhere. Heinze, in his full discussion of the handling of the episode,¹ mentions this fact and its effect on the treatment. In fact, he brings out most of the points which concern us here. We shall indicate certain elements in his discussion which bear on our investigation, with occasional amplification. In general, page references will be given only for points made by Heinze elsewhere than in this chapter. The hero Acestes is of interest in that he is mentioned before he appears, by the poet in l. 195, as a Sicilian and heros, who had given the Trojans jars of wine; by Ilioneus to Dido as Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes l. 550; and by Aeneas, when he realizes his ships are being driven to Sicily, a welcome land because it contains Dardanum Acesten and the remains of his own father Anchises (v. 30 f.). When he actually appears, there is fuller introduction, a bit of description already quoted, and mention of his parentage (38 f.):

Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater
quem genuit.

Heinze notes this as an example of a common Vergilian technique,² a brief preliminary introduction, which may be mere naming, followed by a fuller introduction when the character assumes more

¹Heinze, pp. 145-70.

²Heinze, p. 378.

prominence, and he compares among others Nisus and Euryalus, of whom we shall speak in a moment. There is a similarity here to the case of Coroebus discussed on page 15 in which the poet, having named a character in a list, adds detail about him and then later makes him the center of a special episode, without further introduction. The difference is in the fact that here there is added detail about the characters when they assume prominence. In addition to Acestes, Heinze names Drances, Iarbas, Misemus, and Evander as examples. He says in fact that the purpose of the catalogues of Books vii and x is essentially the same.

Of particular interest is the case of Nisus and Euryalus, since it illustrates two kinds of technique. In that they are very briefly mentioned here, with emphasis on a single detail of each, and on the affection of Nisus as a factor in the race, we have an example of preliminary introduction, to be amplified later, but already containing the one most essential element. On the other hand, from the point of view of the foot-race itself, these two are brought out from a background made up of an undetermined number of indefinite persons, in the midst of a smaller group which serves to set them off. These others seem to have been brought in by the poet as essential to the effective dramatic account of the race. There must be others present to make possible the action which, though to us thoroughly unsportsmanlike, brings into sharp relief the relation of the two principals. It is more realistic if these are named. The number of contestants may well have been suggested by the account of the similar event in the Odyssey, as opposed to that in the Iliad.

The extent to which inner qualities, rather than accident or skill, determine the outcome of the boat-race is discussed at length by Heinze. Since this is brought out through action, and the qualities are not mentioned in any remarks about the men concerned, it lies outside our investigation, but it is of interest and importance as indicating Vergil's interest in inner qualities. Much the same is true of the boxing-match, in which the issue finally turns on the shame and rage of Entellus at his accidental fall in the effort to deliver a telling blow, and of the foot-race. In this, we may find Vergil's reason for neglecting to state the qualifications of the entrants in the contests; since these were to have little importance in determining the issue, they might well be omitted, but something is lost from the point

of view of realism. The archery contest does not bring out any inner qualities; it centers definitely on the marvel which followed Acestes' chance shot. Of the meaning and importance of this omen, as pointing to Acestes' rise from a position of one respected individual among his equals to the kingship of a new city and realm, Heinze speaks convincingly. If this view is right, the presence of Acestes at the games and his participation is but another step in the progressive emergence of this hero, culminating in his elevation to a new eminence.

Finally, we may remark that the atmosphere of pleasure and joy which characterizes Vergil's account¹ is found also in the briefer episode in the Odyssey, where the games are a part of an entertainment provided for Odysseus. There is a further point of similarity in that this episode closes with an account of an acrobatic dance presented by two of Alcinous' sons, and highly praised by Odysseus. The cavalry demonstration of the Aeneid is entirely different in kind, but in its presentation of the attractive figures of the boys, Ascanius, Atys, and Priam, and in its jubilant, happy tone, there is some likeness to the scene in the Odyssey.

Others in Shorter Episodes

Those whom we are about to discuss under this subheading form a heterogeneous group. The characters included here are above the level of mass characters and of incidental characters, since they have a definite part to play in the story, but they are met in a variety of settings. In short, we are trying to bring together a number of persons who are not incidental merely, who on the other hand are not really foreground characters, and who fall outside the two more homogeneous groups which we have just considered. We shall consider here a total of nineteen persons. In alphabetical order, these are:

Achaemenides	Aumus' son	Deiphobus	Iapyx	Polydorus
Andromache	Celaeno	Drances	Laocoon	Priam
Anna	Creusa	Hecuba	Palimurus	Sinon
Arruns	Deiphobe	Helenus	Panthus	

Of all of these, some information is given. A summary of the con-

¹Cf. Heinze, p. 169.

tent is interesting for the sake of comparison with the other groups, but it is to some extent less significant, because the detail is sometimes largely determined by the setting in which the character appears. This factor we shall take into account in the discussion under the general heading of style and technique. Of sixteen of the nineteen persons here, some biographical detail is given. In the cases of fourteen, this has to do with family connections, and in six cases with home or race. Two are called companions of others; the occupations of five, the circumstances of one, and the personal history of eight are mentioned. The occupations are as follows. Laocoon is priest of Neptune, Panthus priest of Apollo, Deiphobe priestess and prophetess of Apollo and Diana, Helenus priest and prophet as well as rex, and Palinurus is helmsman and master of the fleet. Those whose personal history is mentioned are Achaemenides, Andromache, Deiphobus, Helenus, Iapyx, Polydorus, Priam, and Sinon. There is some physical detail of seven persons. In three cases, there are merely epithets indicating age, senior of Drances xi. 122 and Iapyx xii. 401, and longaevus of Priam ii. 525 and Iapyx xii. 420. Concerning skill in arms are bellator of Aunus' son xi. 700 and armipotens of Deiphobus vi. 500. Of three there is more description, Deiphobus, Celaeno, and Achaemenides. Deiphobus' sadly mutilated form is described vi. 494 ff.:

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora,
ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
auribus et truncas inhoneste vulnere naris.

The description of Celaeno is really a description of the harpies generally iii. 214 ff.:

tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluvies uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame.

Even more detailed is the picture of Achaemenides in iii. 590 ff.

cum subito e silvis macie confecta suprema
ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu
procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit.
respicimus. dira inluvies immissaque barba,
consertum tegimen spinis: at cetera Graius
et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis.
isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troia vidit
arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit
continuitque gradum; mox sese ad litora praeceps
cum fletu precibusque tulit.

The last few lines are description of action strictly, but are

quoted with the rest of the passage to complete the picture.

There are four of whom we find some detail regarding inner qualities, Anna, Arruns, Aunus' son, and Drances. Anna is called by the poet Dido's unanimam sororem iv. 8, and Dido addresses her as cara germana iv. 492. There are only these two adjectives to bring out in words the very close relation between the two, except Anna's words to Dido iv. 31: O luce magis dilecta sorori. Unanima may be strong enough to fit the situation. In any case, the only point covered is the intimate affection for her sister. In the case of Arruns, the slayer of Camilla in the eleventh book, the only detail given concerns purely temporary matters. He follows Camilla multa arte 760, his action being described with emphasis on the craft and stealth. Having struck her down, he flees exterritus laetitia mixtoque metu 806, and this idea is repeated in turbidus 814. When slain by Opis, he is described as fulgentem armis ac vana tumentem 854. In the case of Aunus' son, the characterization is brief, and again concerned with a single action, although stated more generally. The poet says of him xi. 701:

haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.

The meaning seems to be explained in the following verses, in which he tries to deceive Camilla by a trick, getting her to dismount and then running away. This is brought out by the words of 704:

consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu,

and by Camilla's words as she advances to slay him, 715 ff.:

'vane Ligus frustra que animis elate superbis,
nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricis artis,
nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno.'

The introduction given Drances contains certain points concerned with inner qualities, chiefly his attitude toward Turnus. First mentioned in xi. 122 f., he is semperque odiis et crimine Drances / infensus iuveni Turno, and in 220 he is called saevus, in a passage in which the same attitude is evident. He is more fully described in 336 ff., in a passage which is concerned predominantly with inner detail, but has some other detail intermingled:

Tum Drances idem infensus, quem gloria Turni
obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris,
largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello
dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,
seditione potens (genus huic materna superbum
nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat),
surgit et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras.

Not only his hostility toward Turnus and envy of him, but also his natural readiness to oppose and his innate pride, and on the better side his generosity, eloquence, and wisdom in counsel are indicated in this passage. This is definitely fuller consideration of the inner qualities of a person than we have seen in the case of any other character. It is due probably to an attempt, within brief compass, to make him appear a worthy opponent of Turnus.

There are very few characters in the Iliad who fall in this category, so that no significant comparison can be made. In the Odyssey, because of its different nature, there are fourteen such characters. For all of them there is biographical detail, genealogical in the case of thirteen, dealing with home or race in the case of ten, while the position of three as rulers of various peoples is mentioned, and there is some bit of personal history of four. There is physical detail about eight, limited to mere epithet in the case of five, "fair-tressed" of Calypso, Circe, Lampetie and Phaethusa, and "white-armed" of Helen. Nestor is frequently called "old man." The beauty of Nausicaa is commented on much more forcefully, especially by Odysseus vi. 149 ff., and there is some description of Polyphemus ix. 187 ff.: ". . . a man . . . of monstrous size, who shepherded his flocks alone and afar, and was not conversant with others, but dwelt apart in lawlessness of mind. Yea, for he was a monstrous thing and fashioned marvellously, nor was he like to any man that lives by bread but like a wooded peak of the towering hills, which stands out apart and alone from others." There is in this description some information as to his disposition and nature, the only mention of inner qualities in the group in the Odyssey. In the Argonautica, there are seven who may be classed in this group, all having some biographical detail. This is genealogical in the case of six, concerns home or people in the case of six, position as rulers in the case of five, and a matter of personal history in the case of Phineus. There is physical detail concerning only two, in the case of Cyzicus the very minor point that "As with Jason, the soft down was just blooming on his chin" i. 972, but in the case of Phineus a detailed description of his repulsive appearance, already quoted on page 23, and the added fact of his blindness. As for mention of inner qualities, the insolence of Amycus is emphasized ii. 4, 9, Alcinous is called "god-fearing" iv. 1123, and

the impiety of Phineus, responsible for his position, is mentioned 11. 181 f.

In comparing these summaries with that for the Aeneid, we find that Vergil is nearer the others than usual. He has not mentioned biographical matter quite so consistently as they, and has dwelt more on inner qualities than Homer, but is not so conspicuously different from Apollonius in this respect. Of course, the number of characters is so small, and differences of setting make so much difference in what need be told that, as we said, our comparison is less significant. In all three poets there is a noticeable increase, in the case of these characters in minor episodes as compared with other characters already discussed, in the number of those about whose personal history something is said. This is inevitable from the very nature of the group. In the majority of cases the poet must tell where the scene is laid, and something of the background of the persons encountered, in order to make his story intelligible and to give it point.

This brings out the importance of a distinction, so far neglected, between different sorts of detail. The first is detail given by the poet in order to increase the reader's interest in the character described, to give the character life, substance, and reality, or to prevent his becoming a mere automaton. The second is detail given in order to adorn the narrative and add variety. A third sort of detail is that which is demanded by the narrative, in order to make what a person does or feels in a particular situation intelligible to the reader. Neglect of this distinction up to this point does not involve any serious loss, since the numbers included under the different headings are fairly large, and the persons included are fairly homogeneous, and also because the individuals are less important as individuals than those in the group we are now considering and that we shall consider next. The distinction is particularly important in connection with these episodic characters, since it is obvious that detail about a Sinon or an Achaemenides would necessarily be of a different kind from that about an Arruns, a Deiphobus, or an Iapyx, because of the very different parts played by these individuals in the action. At least part of the detail in each instance will almost necessarily be determined by the function of the character, and not merely by the poet's desire to interest the reader in the

individual, or to adorn the narrative.¹

In this group of characters in minor episodes, there are six persons, all, as it happens, members of Priam's family, who are alike in that they are well known to the reader from earlier stories, and need therefore no introduction or identification. The reader is already interested, and what is said of them merely advances or completes the story of their experiences. The six are Priam, Hecuba, Andromache, Helenus, Deiphobus, and Polydorus. Some of the experiences of Priam and Hecuba during the last night in Troy are told by Aeneas, but there is no new information about them. However, Evander viii. 158 ff. recalls having seen Priam when once he passed through Arcadia on a trip to visit his sister Hesione in Salamis, a bit of personal history introduced to establish an interesting contact. There is a reference to Hecuba, by Juno vii. 319 f., and to her dream that she would give birth to a fire-brand, although the only name is the patronymic Cisseis, and a similar reference by the poet x. 704 f., where the patronymic is repeated and the issue, Paris, named. Vergil is here following a different legend from that in the Iliad, which represents her as daughter of Phrygian Dymas rather than of Thracian (v. 536 f.) Cisseus. The other four persons are seen by Aeneas on his journey, and the information about them concerns their experiences since Aeneas last saw them, with occasional bits of other detail brought in incidentally, or for Dido's enlightenment, or for the special purposes of the narrative. Aeneas' "grisly experience at the tomb of Polydorus"² motivates his departure from Thrace, but Vergil emphasizes the gruesome detail, and then has Aeneas add an account of the fate of Polydorus, solely to explain how he happens to be lying without formal burial in Thrace. The Helenus-Andromache episode enables the poet to introduce the prophecy of what lies ahead of Aeneas, except for the Carthaginian episode, up to the meeting with the Sibyl. The detail concerning the personal history of the two is essential in order to explain their presence together in Buthrotum. Other detail is incidental, except the references to Helenus as a divinely inspired priest and prophet. These are numerous and emphatic. He is called sacerdos iii. 373, vates iii. 358, 433, 463, 712, Phoebi interpretes iii. 474,

¹For a fuller discussion of this matter, see pp. 94 ff.

²Miss Saunders, p. 209.

and addressed by Aeneas *iii.* 359 ff. as

'Troïugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoebi,
qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis
et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae'

In this episode we are gradually led from a sympathetic interest in Andromache, mourning her beloved Hector, to an interest in the utterance of her husband, the prophet Helenus, who is about to forecast the future. Aeneas' meeting with Delphobus in Hades is one in a carefully-ordered series of encounters, each a minor climax, leading up to the final encounter with Anchises and his impressive account of the future of Rome. The description of his horrible mutilation arouses our interest in the story, which follows, of how it happened.¹

The situation in the case of Arruns and of Aunus' son is entirely different. These are concerned only in episodes within the general narrative of the action, and the information is for the purpose of making them sufficiently real so that the episode will be effective, but both are subordinated to Camilla, the real center of interest. We do not need to know in detail who these persons are. So in the case of Aunus' son, whose own name is not even given, the emphasis is centered on trickiness, and the failure of a stratagem. Arruns is the agent of destruction for Camilla; his identity is unimportant, but his cunning in pursuit, his mixed emotions at his success, and finally his exultation make him distinctive. Somewhat similar, in that interest centers to a considerable degree on the character, are Iapyx, Palinurus, and Drances. Iapyx is met only in a single episode, appearing as a physician to treat Aeneas' wound *xii.* 391 ff. Vergil is here borrowing an incident from *Il.* *iv.* 210 ff., where Machaon attends Menelaus. No detail is given of Machaon there, and very little anywhere, so that what Vergil has to say represents his own choice of appropriate material. The outcome is slightly different, for Machaon is successful in removing the arrow, which apparently was caught in the hero's armor, while Iapyx fails, until Venus intervenes, to remove the arrow deeply embedded in Aeneas' flesh. Vergil has made the incident his own, and his treatment of Iapyx will therefore have interest. Iapyx is called a son of Iasus,

¹The gruesome detail is comparable to that given of Hector, appearing in a dream to Aeneas (*ii.* 270 ff.). Aeneas is moved to horror and is the more ready to heed Hector's advice.

and is said to have been offered by Apollo the choice of augury, the lyre, and swift arrows, choosing instead a knowledge of the art of healing that he might aid his dying father. Apollo's sponsorship guarantees his professional qualifications, and the poet centers our attention on the pathetic detail of a son's devotion to a dying parent. Palimurus appears at first merely as helmsman-in-chief of the fleet, and as such is only an incidental character, but he becomes of more importance when he is thrown overboard by Sleep, that the fleet may be wrecked. Later he reappears to Aeneas in the Lower World. There is practically no information about him, merely the patronymic Iasides, with which he is addressed by Sleep, his position as helmsman, and the assurance of the Sibyl that his name will be given to the cape on which he landed and was slain. The rest of the account concerns his experiences, and in this respect he is similar to Deiphobus and the group discussed with him. Drances serves a definite purpose as leader of the opposition to Turnus, eventually voicing the demand that Turnus meet Aeneas in single combat. Because the detail about him is so largely concerned with inner qualities, it has already been quoted (page 46). The characterization is surprisingly full for one of no greater importance, but it does have the effect of making Drances stand out clearly as an individual. In his opposition to the established leader and in the violence of his words, his part is much like that of Thersites in Il. ii. 211 ff. in his attack on Agamemnon. Thersites, however, is only a common soldier, and does not have the sympathy of his fellows, while Drances is a counsellor of importance and has a following. Similar also is the part played throughout by Antinous in the Odyssey, a leader of the suitors and violent in his opposition to Telemachus. The extended characterization of Drances, unusual in Vergil because of its fullness, may be compared with the characterization and striking physical description of Thersites, equally unusual in Homer,¹ although there is no borrowing of specific detail.²

¹See p. 22 where the description of his appearance is quoted.

²Heinze, p. 378, discusses Drances in some detail as an example of the way in which Vergil presents on a given occasion only what information is needed for that occasion. However, the successive appearances of Drances are near together, and the development is rapid. One feels that the poet might have given

We next consider six whose delineation as individuals, if not neglected, is completely subordinated to their function in the story. These are Anna, Celaeno, Creusa, Deiphobe, Laocoon, and Panthus. Anna, sister and confidante of Dido, never becomes really an individual. Her part, in fact, would have been played in a typical Hellenistic story by a nurse.¹ In the *Argonautica*, Hypsipyle's nurse, Polyxo l. 668, plays this part, but Medea's confidante is her sister Chalciope. Celaeno and the other harpies are thus described iii. 216 ff.:

virginē volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluviē uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame.

Although she is spokesman for the harpies and refers to herself as *Furiarum ego maxima* iii. 252, she is not further described or characterized. Creusa is a very dim figure at best, never characterized or described, barely identified as Aeneas' wife, and has only a slight effect on the action. The Sibyl Deiphobe is mentioned first by Helenus in his prophecy iii. 441 ff.:

huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
divinosque lacus et Averna sonantia silvis,
insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima
fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.

When she appears, she is identified as *Phoebe Triviaeque sacerdos*, / *Deiphobe Glauci*. Other passages describe her appearance and actions as the god takes possession of her. Her function is a dual one, first, as priestess of Apollo, that of prophetess *prae-scia venturi* (vi. 66), in which capacity she outlines for Aeneas his future as a repetition of phases of the Trojan War vi. 83 ff., and secondly, as priestess of Hecate and so familiar with Avernus, that of guide for Aeneas through the Lower World to Elysium, in order that he may meet Anchises.² The case of Laocoon involves some difficulties. Practically nothing is told about him. He is

Drances a more extended part, like that of Antinous, developing his character more gradually. However, having chosen not to do so, and wanting someone on a special occasion in a special capacity, he had to bring Drances in as a quickly developed character, and chose to describe him directly, that he might appear without delay as a worthy opponent for Turnus.

¹Barce, the nurse of Sychaeus iv. 632, is of this type, but her part is purely incidental, instead of that of confidante.

²Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 43 ff., discusses the virtual disappearance of the Sibyl from an active role after they reach Anchises, and the division of the prophecy between the Sibyl and Anchises.

merely named when he rushes down from the citadel, and upbraids the Trojans for wanting to accept the horse, smiting it with his spear. After the interruption caused by Sinon's arrival, he reappears, and is called ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos ii. 201. His two sons are with him, but there is no further detail whatever about him. The structure and handling of the whole scene are fully discussed by Heinze,¹ who notes the omission of detail which one misses in reading the passage carefully, and explains it as due to the demands of the dramatic character of the narrative. The death of Laocoon is the evidence of divine sanction of the action of the Trojans in taking the horse into the city, and to be effective must follow immediately after the completion of the Sinon episode. The words of Laocoon challenging the wisdom of the Trojans and the genuineness of the horse must precede Sinon's appearance, that there may be no questioning of his veracity after he has spoken, and when he has spoken, there is likewise no room for extended detail. Consequently, possible fuller introduction of Laocoon has been sacrificed in the interest of dramatic narrative and action. We may add that here the action itself, the protest against admitting the horse and its sequel, is the important thing; it matters little who makes the protest. Similarly, it is probably the striking nature of the horrible consequences of Laocoon's act which catches the reader's attention, and makes Laocoon stand out in his memory. Last of these individuals is Panthus, son of Othrys and priest of Apollo, who approaches Aeneas bearing sacra victosque deos ii. 318 ff. Little is said about him, but Heinze points out that his function is important, arguing that he is bringing the city gods, quite distinct from Aeneas' family gods, which Aeneas must rescue from the fallen city, and which, in his blood-stained condition, Aeneas could not get himself.²

Achaemenides and Sinon remain to be considered. They are comparable in that both appear to persons to whom they are completely unknown, whose sympathy and trust they must win by their own stories. The poet has Aeneas first describe Achaemenides' pitiable appearance,³ then his frenzied appeal, which wins him an opportunity to tell his story. He begins as follows, iii. 613 ff.:

¹Heinze, pp. 12-21.

²Heinze, pp. 33 ff.

³The description is quoted on p. 45.

'sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Vlixī,
nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto
paupere (mansissetque utinam fortunā!) profectus.'

He continues with the account of his experience with his comrades in the Cyclops' cave, and his desertion by his fellows. We note that he gives his name, his father, his leader, and indirectly something of his fortune. The description of him which precedes emphasizes pathetic detail. The appearance of Sinon is not described in this way. He is a youthful stranger, hands bound behind his back, brought before the king by shepherds who captured him. His first words are of despair, at the hostility of Greeks and Trojans alike, and win him a hearing as Achaemenides' appeal did for him. His reply is highly embellished with rhetoric, with masterly skill in arrangement and wording, making an appeal to the emotions rather than to the critical faculties of his hearers. Yet he mentions some details of the same sort as those used by Achaemenides, that he is Greek by birth, a companion of Palamedes, of a father poor, but once of royal rank and power. His name he brings in only incidentally. Since this is the kind of detail given by these individuals who are trying to identify themselves, we may assume that it was the kind regarded as essential, but one is impressed by the extent to which Vergil minimizes this detail even in these cases, and concentrates now on description, now on action. There are characters of a similar sort in the earlier epics: first the "son of Polyctor" whom Hermes claims to be in guiding Priam to Achilles in the last book of the Iliad; secondly Eurypylus, in whose guise Triton appears to the Argonauts, in the Argonautica; thirdly in the Odyssey, Theoclymenus, who appeals to Telemachus for transportation; and finally in fact the various persons Odysseus claims to be on different occasions when asked his identity. Hermes, in Il. xxiv. 397 ff., says that he is a Myrmidon, his father is Polyctor, an old man and wealthy, with seven sons, and tells the circumstances of his coming to Troy, but does not give any personal name. Triton, Argon. iv. 1558 ff., says that his father is Poseidon, his home Libya, and gives his name as Eurypylus. The four sons of Phrixus, Argon. ii. 1093 ff., shipwrecked on the shore not far from the Argonauts, also appeal for assistance, and Argus, their spokesman, sketches the story of their father Phrixus and his union with Chalciope in the home of Aetes, then names his three brothers and himself. Theoclymenus in Od. xv. 223 ff. seeks aid from Telemachus, but here the poet

tells his whole history, with a long digression on his ancestor Melampus. His ancestry, his home, and the circumstances of his ill fortune are mentioned. Telemachus, answering his appeal, begins "Of Ithaca am I by lineage, and my father is Odysseus" 267, a verse surely imitated directly by Vergil in Achaemenides' words in iii. 613, 'sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Vlixī.' There are five instances in the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus, asked his identity, indulges in a wholly fictitious account of himself. There is a similarity of detail running through the five stories, almost as if the hero were building it up gradually, and adapting it to his audience. The longest and most detailed are the versions which he gives the swineherd Eumaeus xiv. 199-359, and his wife Penelope xix. 165 ff. He speaks regularly of his home as Crete, gives details of his parentage, ancestry, and family, usually without names, usually connects himself with Idomeneus, who is a well-known hero, and adds varying accounts of his experiences and fortunes. It is interesting to compare these stories with each other, and with others in Homer. It would be possible to point out many parallel passages. However, the point in which we are interested is in the kind of detail, and we note how regularly mention of family, home, a well-known companion, and personal history recur, with relatively little variation. Vergil follows the same scheme precisely in this sort of detail, but is entirely original in emphasizing in Sinon's case the continual hostility between him and Ulysses, who is equally a well-known hero, and so adds verisimilitude to the tale. The most outstanding quality of the Vergilian story, as compared with the others, is its artistry and effective composition, however, rather than its detail.

We may consider, finally, the manner in which information is given of these minor episodic characters. With a few exceptions, which we shall mention, it is given directly by the poet. There is no case of apostrophe by the poet. In several instances, information is given through the words of another about the character concerned. Strictly, we must include here what Aeneas has to say in his account to Dido about the persons mentioned. He tells all that is told about Polydorus and Panthus, and uses terms of respectful address to Deiphobus and Helenus, which have to do with parentage or ancestry. Similarly, the name of Palinurus' father is given only in the vocative addressed to him by Sleep. In addition to these rather casual types, there are two instances

of more definite information, first in the detail which Andromache gives Aeneas about Helenus' experiences, and in the reminiscence of Evander which contains some detail of Priam's earlier history. Of these two bits of detail, Andromache's has point in introducing Helenus, while the words of Evander about Priam are incidental. There is relatively little information given by characters about themselves. Two outstanding exceptions are Achaemenides and Sinon, where the situation demands that they give what information is given, since they are strangers approaching potential enemies. However, Achaemenides' pitiful appearance is described by Aeneas. In similar fashion, Andromache gives information about her personal history and experiences, and Deiphobus about his. In addition, there is only the casual reference by Celaeno to herself as Furiarum maxima. Altogether, then, the bulk of the detail is given by the poet himself, directly. He gives all that is given of Arruns, Aunus' son, Iapyx, Drances, Anna, Deiphobe, and Laocoon.

CHAPTER III

FOREGROUND CHARACTERS

Our last heading, that of foreground characters, includes all those of prominence and primary importance in the story. Because of the difficulty of satisfactorily defining an episode,¹ and because of the prominence of certain individuals whose activities really form episodes, as Camilla, and Nisus and Euryalus, it seems desirable to include here such persons as these, together with those whose activity more fully pervades the poem. We shall therefore consider under this heading the following fourteen persons, whose names are here listed alphabetically:

Aeneas	Ascanius	Euryalus	Latinus	Nisus
Amata	Camilla	Evander	Lavinia	Pallas
Anchises	Dido		Mezentius	Turnus

The summary of the kinds of information is of interest for comparative purposes, but as in the preceding group it loses some of its significance because the detail is frequently determined by the immediate situation, and the function of the character in it. There is biographical detail concerning all fourteen persons. This includes genealogical detail, in varying amount and content, for thirteen, or all but Mezentius. The home or race of six, the occupation or social position of four, the circumstances of three are mentioned, and there is some personal history of five. The distribution of this material, so far as it is of importance, will be considered in connection with the individual characters. Physical detail is found in the case of thirteen, all but Amata, and something about inner qualities also in the case of thirteen, Lavinia being the exception. We shall see that most of the references to inner qualities are contained in epithets, of varying significance, but sometimes exemplified in the action.

In the corresponding group in the Iliad, there are four-

¹Concerning the use of the term episode, cf. 32, n. 1.

teen persons. About all of them there is some biographical information, and in the case of each this includes information about family connections and home or race. In seven cases there is special mention of the hero's position, of one the circumstances are mentioned, and of six there is some personal history. There is physical detail regarding all fourteen, and some detail concerning inner qualities in the case of nine. The physical detail includes the usual sorts, mention of age, of ability as a warrior, of stature and comeliness, either general or specific. Noteworthy is the emphasis on beauty in the cases of Helen and Alexander, and also the brief personal descriptions of Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Ajax, as Priam asks Helen their identity. Of inner qualities, courage and wisdom in counsel are frequently mentioned. In addition, Hector is commended by Helen as gentle in spirit and Priam as very kind, Odysseus is distinguished for his cleverness and craft, and Alexander for his fondness for women. Agamemnon is accused of covetousness and shamelessness, by Achilles and Thersites in hostile mood, and as too ready to despair of success by others, especially Diomed and Odysseus. In Achilles, the emphasis is on rage and resentment at Agamemnon, and rage at the Trojans generally after Patroclus' death, centering of course on Hector.

There are too few characters who are really foreground characters in the Odyssey and Argonautica for any general comparisons to be drawn. We shall have occasion in discussing individuals to refer to the treatment of some of them, separately.

In the case of these foreground characters, it is important to consider what is said of individuals, and frequently something of the circumstances under which it is said. Only in this way can we get an adequate idea of the poet's handling of a given person. We shall discuss first certain characters who are the centers of important episodes. The order from that point on will be determined by various considerations.

Nisus and Euryalus are a very attractive pair of young men, who are the center of interest in two clearly defined episodes. They appear first in the games of Book v, and we noted in connection with that appearance that Euryalus was distinguished for youthful beauty, Nisus for his speed of foot, and his devotion to Euryalus, qualities which were all exemplified in the action (cf. p. 37). We noted also (p. 43) that their presence in the games was a preliminary introduction, bringing out briefly

details to be amplified later. They reappear as guards at the gate of the Trojan camp besieged by the Rutulians ix. 176 ff.:

Nisus erat portae custos, acerrimus armis,
Hyrtacides, comitem Aeneae quem miserat Ida
venatrix iaculo celerem levibusque sagittis;
et iuxta comes Euryalus, quo pulchrior alter
non fuit Aeneadum Troiana neque induit arma,
ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa.
his amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant:
tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.

This is a comparatively full introduction, bringing out numerous details, Nisus' father and home, his skill and vigor in battle, Euryalus' beauty and tender youth, and then the very close relation of the two to each other, with a single love between them. An added bit of genealogical detail is found in 201, where Euryalus mentions his father Opheltes, and his mother is referred to, but not named, by Nisus in 216 ff. and by Euryalus 284 ff., as the only one of many mothers who refused to stay in Acestes' city, but insisted on following her son. As for their ages, both are young, but older than Ascanius (275), and of the two Nisus is clearly the elder, just as he is the leader in the enterprise. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the whole episode is the extent to which inner qualities determine the course of the action, and gain expression in action. Here again we are indebted to Heinze.¹ It is ambition which first suggests the plan of the adventure to Nisus, as he and Euryalus are on guard together 186 f.:

aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum invadere magnum
mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est,

and a similar ambition is aroused in Euryalus at the suggestion, magno laudum percussus amore 197. In the Rutulian camp, they are not content merely to make their way through the enemy, but must prove their prowess in slaughter. Nisus retains a trace of caution but sees Euryalus nimia caede atque cupidine ferri 354. He has the good sense to call Euryalus to leave before dawn comes, but not enough to check his desire for spoil, and Euryalus dons a decorated belt and a crested helmet. The first rays of approaching day, striking the polished helmet, betray their presence, and while Nisus' superior fleetness carries him out of peril, Euryalus, impeded by his plunder, is caught. Here, at the climax, the devotion of Nisus is most strikingly exemplified; exterritus,

¹Heinze, pp. 216 ff.

mens, he tries to distract his friend's captors and turn them on himself 427 ff.:

'me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis, nihil iste nec ausus
nec potuit; caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor';
--tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.

Failing in this, seeing Euryalus slain, he plunges into the enemy's midst, with no other thought than to avenge himself on the killer, and, successful, falls himself. Here the noble motives of honorable ambition, combined to be sure with a certain lack of discretion, and of the truest friendship lead to death for both. The other important point about the episode is its dependence upon the Dolon episode in the Iliad, and the difference in treatment. There are numerous parallels, but mainly in superficial details, while the organization and treatment, which are really fundamental, are quite different. Heinze concentrates on the organization and treatment, emphasizing the care taken by the poet in having every action motivated, and in concentrating attention throughout on the two main characters. Nisus and Euryalus, in the spirit of Diomed and Odysseus, in their fate that of Dolon. The pathos and tragedy of their fate, however, is greatly intensified by the contrast with their earlier success, that is externally, as well as, internally, by the portrayal of the intimate relationship between them, and the unfortunate outcome of their noble motives, mentioned above. Of the points of parallelism,¹ the only one dealing with permanent physical or with inner qualities is the extreme terror of Nisus at seeing his friend's plight, noble in its unselfishness, which is comparable to the extreme terror of Dolon when he finds himself trapped, selfish and almost cowardly. In

¹We may note briefly that as Nisus and Euryalus are sentinels, so Homer mentions specifically the sentinels on duty as the chiefs gather (180); that gifts are offered Diomed and Odysseus by the Greeks (213 ff.) and Dolon by Hector (304 ff.), and to the two youths in the Aeneid by Ascanius at Aletes' suggestion; that the two Greeks receive arms and helmets from their friends (255 ff.) just as Euryalus and Nisus from theirs (303 ff.); that imprudens evaserat hostis 386 seems to come directly from the description of Dolon's action in 350; that both Dolon and Nisus and Euryalus turn vainly to flight; and that, as Euryalus gathers spoil, so Odysseus takes horses and Diomed considers trying to take a chariot and armor, but wisely decides against it. The striking personal description of Dolon (314 ff.) and that of his arming (333 ff.) are not imitated or paralleled in Vergil's account.

general, this whole episode is an excellent example of the artistry of Vergil in adapting Homeric material, and more specifically of his interest in, and emphasis upon inner qualities.

Camilla is also the center of interest in an important episode. She is the last named in the catalogue of the Latin forces, and is identified there as follows (vii. 803 ff.):

Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisque Minervae
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos. . . .

There follows a description of details of her dress and equipment which has already been quoted (pages 7-8). We have here mention of her race, of her position in command of a contingent of cavalry, and something of her nature and disposition, as a warrior maiden disinclined to household tasks. She is referred to by Turnus xi. 432 f., almost repeating the first two verses above. She first appears in action in xi. 498, when she proposes to Turnus that she meet Aeneas and the Etruscans together. In replying, Turnus addresses her thus, o decus Italiae virgo. There is no further detail about her until xi. 532 ff., where Diana summons Opis, and before assigning her to guard Camilla, tells at length the maiden's history. Her father Metabus, exiled from Privernum, brought up his daughter in exile, naming her Camilla, slightly changing her mother's name Casmilla. She was early dedicated to Diana, and brought up by her father in the woods.

hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris.
utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto
spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum.
pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.
tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit
et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena
Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit colorem.

This is an interesting account of her parentage and her early upbringing as a huntress, but it does not fit in well with the description of her appearance in the catalogue, nor with her position as leader of a contingent of Volscians.¹ There is a descrip-

¹Heinze, p. 215, n. 1, says that this account of Camilla's youth seems to be taken partly from legends about the Thracian maid Harpalyce, and the rest probably from local Volscian legend. Then this figure is blended, not very successfully, with that of

tion of her and her equipment as she enters the battle (648 ff.):

At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset,
nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.
illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit,
spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu.

Her speed of foot, mentioned in the catalogue, is referred to again in velox 760. Aside from the brief mention of her nature and disposition in the first passage quoted, there is only the adjective aspera 664, used of her by the poet in apostrophe, which can be considered as concerned with inner qualities. Her one female weakness, the love of finery which leads her in pursuit of Chloreus and so to her death, is brought out only in the action, and in the two following verses, 781 f.:

caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen
femineo praedae et spoliis ardebat amore,

in which we have strictly narrative rather than description. In summary, we have a rather full account of the background of this heroine, with relatively little direct detail about physical or inner qualities, but with some suggestion of most of the elements brought out in the action.

In Mezentius we meet a character who is very clearly and effectively portrayed, with emphasis particularly on two qualities, his impiety and his love for his son Lausus, the former brought out in words by the poet, the latter in action. Mezentius is included in the catalogue, the first to be named (vii.

an Amazon queen, such as Penthesilea, to whom the adornments mentioned in the catalogue would be suited, as they are not suited to a huntress, reared in solitude in the woods. He raises the question, also, as to how the daughter of an exiled king, thus brought up, came to be leader of a band of companions, to regain the position at the head of subjects who had driven out her father. He finds (416, n. 4) the possible solution of the difficulty in the assumption that the account in Diana's speech was written at an earlier stage of the poem, before the development of Camilla as a gorgeously adorned warrior queen of the Volscians, and that, on putting the poem together, the poet failed to adjust the discrepancies. He also discusses this part of Diana's words as unique in Vergil, in the extent to which it narrates through speech. Other examples are all more closely connected with the action, while this is very loosely joined (416). Miss Saunders, 93 ff., commenting on the anachronism of representing the Etruscans as established in Italy at so early a date, says that the details of Camilla's dress would be credible, if the Volscians had been near a people so highly civilized as the later Etruscans, but they were not at this date.

647 f.):

Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris
contemptor divum Mezentius agminaque armat.

Neither here nor elsewhere is there mention of his family, except his son Lausus, who is named with him in the catalogue. We are told that he is an Etruscan, and in asper we have a hint as to his nature, while the phrase contemptor divum indicates a dominating element in his character. Although an Etruscan, he is first in the list of Latin leaders. This is explained to Aeneas by Evander in viii. 478 ff. The near-by city of Agylla, settled by Lydian colonists, had prospered until ruled by Mezentius, superbo / imperio et saevis armis. He says,

quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? di capiti ipsius generique reservent!

and yet does describe with horrible, gruesome detail a means of execution which he used. Regarding him as a madman, his subjects assailed him and drove him out; he found refuge with Turnus, with the result that all Etruria was demanding vengeance on him. There is never any general description of him, or of his appearance, but numerous scattered details may be put together. His height is indicated by a simile x. 762 ff., which compares him to magnus Orion, clearly in respect to stature. He is gray-haired x. 844 and bearded x. 838. He is very active in battle, and one element is brought out by alacer x. 729. On the side of inner qualities, there are also numerous scattered details, in addition to the phrase contemptor divum. We have already noted asper vii. 647, amplified by superbus viii. 481, xi. 15, and saevus viii. 482. Similarly, Evander speaks of his facta effera viii. 483 f., and Aeneas, having slain him, says x. 897 f.:

'ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa
effera vis animi?'

His imperturbability is exemplified x. 689, where he stands ardens, as the Etruscans in their deep hatred concentrate their attack on him, like a great cliff, exposed to all the might of wind and sea, yet remaining unshaken. Some further consideration of the quality of impiety seems necessary.¹ Traditionally, Mezentius was represented as having demanded for himself the first-fruits, which ought to be dedicated to the gods. This phrase Vergil did not use, but instead he made over the story, and gave the

¹Compare Heinze, pp. 211 ff.

quality effective application. In battle, Mezentius trusts only in his own might and his arms,¹ in meeting Aeneas he vows to Lausus his enemy's arms as a trophy x. 774 ff., and in his last words to Aeneas, as he advances to meet death after his son has fallen, he says x. 880:

'nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli.'

Comparable with this are the words of exultation he utters over a certain Oroles, whom he had slain, and who had warned him that his own days were near an end, x. 743 f.:

'nunc morere. ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex viderit.'²

Most important from our point of view is the consistent emphasis put on this single characteristic.

We may consider next the members of the royal family, Amata, Lavinia, and Latinus. Amata is mentioned by the poet in vii. 56 as regia coniunx, indicating at once her position as queen and wife of Latinus, and her eagerness that Turnus marry her daughter is mentioned. It is for this that she is outstanding throughout. In fact, of other detail, there is only the vague reference in cognato sanguine xii. 29, used by Latinus but taken to refer to a legend that Amata was sister of Turnus' moth-

¹Heinze, p. 213, n. 2, suggests that this treatment of Mezentius is based on the character of Idas in the *Argonautica*, who says to Jason i. 466 ff., "Be witness now my impetuous spear, wherewith in wars I win renown beyond all others (nor does Zeus aid me so much as my own spear), that no woe will be fatal, no venture will be unachieved, while Idas follows, even though a god should oppose thee." He is severely chided for his vain and impious words. Although his impiety is not mentioned again, he several times displays his vanity, and a readiness not to conform to the judgments and attitudes of his companions. Cf. iii. 516, 556 ff., 1169 f., and 1252 ff.

²Henry, on vi. 620, expresses his belief that contemptor divum does not mean infidel or blasphemer, since, he says, that is not his character x. 743, but is used to mean violator of divine laws, one who had so little respect for the gods as to commit the enormities attributed to him by Evander, viii. 483. Surely this is erroneous. The words of exultation must be compared with those of Achilles over fallen Hector, II. xxii. 365 f., "Die: for my death, I will accept it whensoever Zeus and the other immortal gods are minded to accomplish it." Achilles knows his fate, Mezentius has just been warned of his; Achilles, having gained revenge, is resigned, Mezentius, still scornful, is indifferent. It is not submission to the will of the gods, as such, but only indifference as to the end, which his words imply. This is, in effect, Heinze's interpretation, although he does not refer to the Homeric passage.

er, Venilia. Her support of Turnus is further suggested by tui fidissima xii. 659 used of her by Saces speaking to Turnus, and the violence of her feeling in the matter is portrayed as follows, at her first appearance vii. 344 f.:

quam super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis
femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.

Definitely the most effective part of the poet's treatment of Amata is the account of her mad frenzy, aroused by Allecto through a serpent. As description of action, however, it falls outside our field. Amata is represented at least as taking a definite stand, and remaining consistently in it, as Latinus did not. Lavinia, however, is ever a dim figure, a sort of pawn in the game.¹ She is first mentioned when Anchises speaks of her in his prophecy as the future consort of Aeneas, to become mother of Silvius, vi. 763 ff. She is next mentioned, not by name, as Latinus' daughter in vii. 52 ff.:

sola domum et tantas servabat filia sedes
iam matura viro, iam plenis nubilis annis.
multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant
Ausonia; petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
Turnus.

Her mother, of course, is Amata. The poet makes no effort to endow her with inner qualities which would make her worthy of Aeneas, and although he represents her as beautiful, little is said specifically. As she, with others, views in despair the final assault on the city, she is described in a way that brings out certain features of her beauty (xii. 605 f.):

filia prima mamu flores Lavinia crinis
et roseas laniata genas.

Her modesty is brought out so clearly in two passages that they are worth quoting, although strictly concerned only with the physical manifestations of it. At the sacrifice for the safety of the city, she accompanies her mother, oculos delecta decoros xi. 480, and in the next book, when Amata pledges continued support to Turnus, saying she will die rather than accept Aeneas as son, Lavinia's reaction is described (xii. 64 ff.):

¹Heinze, p. 460, comments that Lavinia is not brought forward as an active character since the Latin court is already sufficiently complicated, and that the poet uses the pretext that this filia familias has no willfulness, but lets her parents determine her fate. He says that she interests the reader not as an individual, but as the daughter of Latinus, who will bestow the kingdom on the man she weds.

accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris
flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem
subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit.
Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
alba rosa: talis virgo dabat ore colores.

We are left with a clear impression of modesty, and of beauty, especially of hair and coloring, but there is little description.

Latinus is introduced by the poet in his account of the situation in ancient Latium at the coming of the Trojans vii. 45 ff.:

Rex arva Latinus et urbes
iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.
hunc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica
accipimus; Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem
te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.

there is a possible inconsistency in xii. 164, where the poet mentions Solis avi, but the reference is probably to a legend that Picus, his grandfather, married Circe, daughter of the Sun, in which case the Sun would be his great-grandfather.¹ Others of his forefathers are represented by images in his palace, Italus, Sabinus, Saturn, and Janus, vii. 178 ff. His wife is Amata, and he has one daughter, Lavinia, but no sons. His position is indicated frequently by rex, and once by tyrannus vii. 342. His wealth is also mentioned, for he is praedives xi. 213. There is one epithet, concerned with his age and rank, maximus aevo / et primus sceptris xi. 237 f., when he presides over a council of war. Of inner detail, there are only three adjectives used in forms of respectful address. Ilioneus in vii. 213 says, "rex, genus egregium Fauni," Drances in council says, "o bone rex" xi. 344, and "optime regum" 353, and Turnus similarly uses "optime" xii. 48. These expressions are almost inevitable in such circumstances, and yet the qualities which they suggest are notably present in Latinus. Heinze says that he is the ideal king, good, prudent, generous, upright, kind-hearted, with but a single flaw, the lack of firmness and consistency.² This is brought out, however, through action rather than through words. He never becomes

¹Hesiod says that Circe was mother of Latinus by Odysseus. Heyne suggested reconciling the accounts through the story of Circe's love for Picus, found in Ovid, Met. xiv. 320 ff., and even Aen. vii. 189 ff. Cf. Conington's Note on xii. 163 f.

²Heinze, p. 280: "Latinus das Ideal des Königs: fromm, besonnen, freigebig, gerecht, mildherzig; nur eines fehlt ihm: die constantia."

a forceful character, in fact he cannot, because of the very nature of the situation. The difficulty, discussed by Heinze,¹ may be stated very briefly. Opposition between the Latins and Trojans is inevitable, and Aeneas is to win a bride, the daughter of the king. The king must either oppose the match, siding with the people, or give his daughter willingly, and therefore be set against his people. Vergil chose the latter alternative, and is forced to represent Latinus in rather an anomalous position, as titular head of his people, but avoiding, so far as possible, any actual responsibility for the war or any part in it, although he assumes, as king, responsibility for the action of his subjects in making the war. The state of peace, long enjoyed by his realm, may be intended to reflect the king's nature, and make more plausible his refraining from more active participation. The extended information on the king's genealogy is interesting; apparently introduced solely for its own sake, it does not have any influence on the action.

Like Latinus, in that they are older men, and therefore participate less actively in the events of the narrative, are Anchises and Evander. Anchises is from the first described as Aeneas' father. In i. 617 f. Dido asks Aeneas,

tunc ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae
alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?

He is the center of an effective scene in ii. 634 ff., when he refuses to leave Troy, preferring suicide instead, but is finally induced by a double omen to go with his son and family. Helenus addresses him iii. 475 f.:

'coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo,
cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,'

the reference at the end being to his escape with Aeneas and to an earlier escape when the city was destroyed by Hercules, seeking vengeance on Laomedon. This occurrence Anchises also alludes to in ii. 642 f. A further bit of personal history is mentioned by Evander, who says that he saw Anchises accompanying Priam on a visit to Salamis, viii. 155 ff. He remembers admiring the Trojan chiefs, and Priam, sed cunctis altior ibat / Anchises, whom he was boyishly eager to meet. The reference to his stature is a bit of physical detail, in addition to which we find mention of

¹Heinze, pp. 174 ff.

his age, senior ii. 692, and longaevus v. 535. Concerning inner qualities, there is only pater optime addressed to him by Aeneas iii. 710, and magnus v. 99 and viii. 156, apparently to be taken as a term of high respect denoting general excellence. In the course of the narrative, Anchises frequently is counsellor and adviser, but nothing is said of his ability in this regard. Altogether, he is not clearly characterized in descriptive phrases, and appears rather as the object of his son's devotion than as one independently interesting.

Evander is named first when the river-god Tiberinus appears to Aeneas in a dream, foretelling his fortunes, in part as follows (viii. 51 ff.):

Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum.
hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.

He first appears in viii. 102, offering a sacrifice with his son, when Aeneas approaches to ask his aid. Aeneas points out the relationship between them. Dardanus, in the sixth generation before Aeneas according to the Iliad, Vergil says was son of Electra, the daughter of Atlas, while Evander's father Mercury was son of Maia, the daughter also of Atlas. The discrepancy in the number of generations would not matter, if the deathless gods are the parents.¹ Evander is also called by Aeneas an Arcadian, and akin to the sons of Atreus, viii. 129 f. There is here a considerable genealogy, but solely for the purpose of establishing kinship, not at all like the boasts in Homer. Evander himself states that his mother was the nymph Carmentis (viii. 336). As for his circumstances, his realm was small and poor, for the poet says res inopes Euandrus habebat viii. 100, and calls him pauper viii. 360. This is further exemplified in the description of his lowly home, which he bids his guest not to scorn. In addition to being

¹Norden, Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, VII (1901), 327 comments that the Greeks are not always natural enemies of Aeneas. The Sibyl in vi. 96 foretold that Aeneas would find safety through the aid of a Greek city, meaning Evander's. Also in vii. 206 ff. Latinus remarks that Dardanus originated in that land, and went from there to Phrygian Ida and Thracian Samos, while in viii. 129 ff. Evander is related both to Greeks and Trojans. Also in giving the story of Dardanus here, the poet designates the legend as Greek. There is then an interrelation of Trojans, Greeks, and Latins.

called Arcadian, he is Parrhasius xi. 31, from a town in Arcadia. As for physical detail, we are told that he is elderly. The poet calls him obsitus aevo as he walks beside Aeneas and Ascanius viii. 307, senior viii. 457, and in offering Aeneas his assistance, he says that he has had to refuse the leadership of the Etruscans viii. 508 f.:

sed mihi tarda gelu saeculisque effeta senectus
invidet imperium seraeque ad fortia vires.

Of detail regarding inner qualities, there is practically nothing, merely the vocative optime Graiugenum viii. 127, in which the superlative is but a form of respectful address, used by Aeneas to his host. His hospitality is brought out only in his action toward his guests, never commented on. The poet concentrates on his genealogy, which is important for the part he is to play, and in the detail about his circumstances; Vergil is interested rather in presenting the contrast between the situation then and the later grandeur of Rome than in developing the character of Evander.

Next we come to Pallas, Evander's son, and Ascanius, who with Nisus and Euryalus exemplify Vergil's ideal of young manhood. Pallas is met first in viii. 104, sacrificing with his father. We have seen that his father's ancestry is traced far back. That his mother was a Sabine, Evander gives, in viii. 510, as a reason why he cannot put the youth in charge of the forces he is sending to fight against the Latins. He sends Pallas along with the troops, as a protégé of Aeneas, who is in command, that the young man may gain experience and profit by Aeneas' example. We can only infer his age from the fact that he is apparently old enough to be considered for the command, yet his inexperience and the words of Evander to Aeneas primis et te miretur ab annis viii. 517, suggest that he is still quite young. He and Lausus, son of Mezentius, are about of an age, and both egregii forma x. 434 f. There are numerous passages in which there is temporary physical description, as he sets out for the war, as he lies slain by Turnus, and as his corpse is laid out. There is little detail concerning inner qualities. He is called audax viii. 110, as he runs to meet the strangers who have just landed on the shore, a purely temporary adjective. More general is Aeneas' characterization of him, after his death, as non virtutis egentem xi. 27, a phrase more than justified by his exploits in battle, and in his final words of farewell, maxime Palla xi. 97. The very definite impression which the reader has of this youth is due much more to

his action in battle, his own words, and particularly Aeneas' evident fondness for him and deep grief at his death, than to any direct description or characterization. Most of the elements in the impression are indicated in what is said directly, but never elaborated.¹ The tenderness of the youth, and his attractiveness, rather than his size or skill as a warrior, even when proved by his valor in battle, are the outstanding qualities.

Ascanius is first named by Jupiter i. 267, reassuring Venus concerning her son's future, and giving a forecast of Ascanius' destiny. He first actually appears in ii. 674 as his mother holds him up to his father, urging that he save his family. In addition, we know Ascanius' earlier ancestry as we know that of Aeneas. Furthermore, he is called Dardanius nepos Veneris iv. 163 and Veneris iustissima cura, / Dardanius . . . puer x. 132 f. As to physical characteristics, we are interested to find that the boy gradually grows up. He is parvus in the passage above, when his mother holds him up to his father, and frequently elsewhere. Also, puer is often used of him, usually with the name Ascanius. His size is indicated by the fact that Dido apparently takes him in her lap (i. 718). However, the adjective parvus is confined to the first two books, and we shall see that the poet represents him as maturing in the later books. His personal appearance must suit the description of Cupid in his likeness in i. 709 ff.:

mirantur Iulum
flagrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba
pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.

The adjective dulcis i. 659 seems to include his beauty and general attractiveness. As leader of one of the detachments of boys in the cavalry games in Sicily, he is formaque ante omnis pulcher v. 570, and pulcher also vii. 107; ix. 310. The participle surgens, used three times of him, iv. 274; vi. 364, and x. 524, emphasizes the process of maturing, both in the physical and the

¹Heinze, pp. 178 f., considers the place of Pallas in the legend, and the changes made by Vergil, pointing out that with his Greek father and native mother, he represents the intermingling of the two stocks. Later (216) he discusses Pallas as the ideal young man, indicating the qualities exemplified in action, and emphasizing that "Pallas, vom Boden des künftigen Rom entsandt, ist das erste grosse Opfer, das auf italischem Boden für die heilige Sache Roms gebracht wird," and that in his death and the profound grief attending it the Roman reader would recognize the experience of the later city in the loss of her sons in battle.

mental sense. At Carthage and in the incident with the pet stag, he is a boy, but in ix. 232 he is evidently given some consideration among the leaders in the absence of his father, for he is the first to bid Nisus and Euryalus explain their project, and supports their suggestion. Later, as they set out, he is characterized as follows ix. 310 ff.:

nec non et pulcher Iulus,
ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem,
multa patri mandata dabat portanda.

His maturity is further brought out when he slays his first foe ix. 590 ff., the braggart Numanus, and following this feat, he is described as ardentem ix. 652, as Apollo bids him refrain from battle in the future. The boy has become a man,¹ physically and mentally, although Apollo can still call him puer ix. 656, but he must be preserved that his destiny may not be jeopardized. Mention of this destiny is the only detail not yet considered. In the passage referred to at the beginning, Jupiter says i. 267 ff.:

at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur (Iulus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet, et longam multa vi muniet Albam.

The poet also speaks of this destiny in calling him magnae spes altera Romae xii. 168. Altogether, we have a clear picture of an attractive youth, of high birth and lofty destiny, developing from a mere child to a young man able to accept his responsibility as it may come to him.

We may turn next to Queen Dido, of whom a great deal has been written. Our intent here is to consider what the poet says about her, for purposes of comparison with other characters, and to avoid, so far as possible, analyzing her emotions or her motives, or drawing inferences from her actions. In i. 297 Hermes is sent down to Carthage to see that Dido receives the Trojans hospitably, and in 340 ff. Venus in disguise tells Aeneas about her previous history and present situation, a very interesting example of preliminary introduction. Dido is queen of a people who are Tyrians, though surrounded by Libyans. Her husband was wealthy Sychaeus, slain for his gold by Pygmalion, Dido's brother and king of Tyre. Learning of his death, despite efforts at concealment, she left Tyre, taking as much of her husband's wealth

¹Cf. Heinze, p. 266.

as she could, and came with her company to Carthage, where they bought land and she became queen of the city they built. As for her parentage, we learn her father's name l. 621, where she speaks of her father Belus, who once made himself master of Cyprus. This material is all biographical, including something of her family connections, her original home and race, her circumstances and previous history, and her present occupation. Of permanent physical detail, there is very little indeed. Her first appearance is at the new temple, to which she comes accompanied by a considerable retinue to give audience to her people, while Aeneas, hidden in a thick cloud, contemplates the sculpture on it. She is there forma pulcherrima Dido 496 and is compared to Diana, outstanding among her company. The beauty of the queen is a prominent trait, but the details of her beauty are never given, except that in her grief she is represented as tearing her flaventis comas (iv. 590). There is much temporary physical detail, including a description of her appearance as she comes forth for the hunt in iv. 133 ff., with emphasis on color, the embroidered border of her robe, and the golden ornaments which contrast with the purple of the fabric. Most of the detail, however, concerns the physical symptoms of her over-powering emotion, and similarly all that is said about her inner qualities has to do with her love. Heinze points out that the poet avoids describing her feelings, but so far as possible has Dido give expression to them herself.¹ It is almost inevitable, however, that there should be references by the poet. She begins to fall in love as she gazes on Ascanius and the gifts of Aeneas l. 713,

expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo,
and 748 f.,

vario noctem sermone trahebat
infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem.

The effect of Anna's words is described in iv. 54 f.:

His dictis impenso animum flammavit amore
spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.

In 66 ff.,

est mollis flamma medullas

¹Heinze, p. 134: "Der Dichter erzählt nur die äussere Handlung; er schildert nicht Gefühle, sondern lässt sie fast ausschliesslich die Heldin selbst aussprechen." Also p. 138: "Dies alles wird uns so lebendig wie möglich mit Didos eigenen Worten vorgeführt: der Dichter gibt nur den verbindenden Text."

interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens.

In 85 the poet speaks of her infandum amorem, and in 101 Juno says to Venus ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem. There are other expressions of her love in her own words. After the union of the two, and Aeneas' decision to leave, her agitation at the rumor is portrayed in 300 ff., in a passage which begins saevit inops animi, and compares her to a Bacchante. She summons Aeneas, puts her position before him, and then goes through moods of rebuke and reproach, followed by one of frenzied appeal at the last for a delay, and then one of hopelessness, in which she prays for death (450 f.):

Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
mortem orat.

Similarly in 475 decrevitque mori. Having instructed Anna to build the pyre, ostensibly for a ceremony to bring him back, she pales at the thought of her situation 499, and then while all the world sleeps, her agitation is unceasing 529 ff. In the morning, finding the ships at sea, she gives way to furious rage. Later, having arranged everything, she mounts the pyre, pauses a moment to utter a few last words, and falls upon the sword. All this is put in narrative form by the poet, interspersed with quotation of Dido's words, but in the parts we have quoted the narrative form is used to bring out inner qualities. Heinze¹ has analyzed in detail the characterization of Dido, and the various means by which the poet develops the material. From the point of view of direct statement, we find that her personal history is well covered, but that detail of permanent physical qualities and inner qualities is almost eliminated by the emphasis on her love and its manifestations. Her original loyalty to Sychaeus, brought out in her own words iv. 15 ff., and her able administration of the affairs of her realm, exemplified in the action at her first appearance, are genuine qualities, but they are neither described nor directly stated by the poet.

Greatest of the Latin heroes is Turnus. He is referred to by Deiphobe vi. 89 f. as alius Achilles / natus et ipse dea, and first named as one of Lavinia's suitors vii. 55 ff.:
petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis

¹Heinze, pp. 115 ff.

Turnus, avis atavisque potens, quem regia coniunx
adiungi generum miro properabat amore.

As for his family, we are told that his mother is diva Venilia x. 76, and his father is Daunus, according to Juno x. 616. Pilumnus is called parens ix. 3 f., and avus x. 76, but quartus pater by Juno x. 619. Amata remarks in vii. 372 that his ancestry can be traced back to Inachus and Acrisius, referring to a legend that Pilumnus became the husband of Acrisius' daughter Danaë in Italy. We meet one other member of his family, his sister Juturna. As for permanent physical detail, there is only mention of his comeliness in the first passage quoted, and of his size x. 446 and more fully vii. 783 f.:

Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus
vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est.

This passage continues with temporary detail about his equipment. He is frequently mentioned, with more or less description of his appearance and action under varying circumstances, omitted here as purely temporary. As he rouses his warriors to arms, they respond, different ones for different reasons, indicating the effect he has on his men (vii. 473 f.):

hunc decus egregium formae movet atque iuventae,
hunc atavi reges, hunc claris dextera factis.

Turning to inner qualities, we find the epithet acer viii. 614; x. 308, audax ix. 3, 126; x. 276, and arduus ix. 53. As general comments, we note Latinus' address to him, o praestans animi iuvenis xii. 19, and Turnus' words of himself, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus xi. 441. However, he is repeatedly characterized by violentia, as consistently an element in his character as impiety in that of Mezentius. Mention is made of his violenta peccata x. 151, and the noun violentia is used in various contexts in xi. 354, 376; xii. 9, 45. For example exarsit dictis violentia Turni xi. 376. The same idea is differently expressed on other occasions, as mens exaestuatur ira ix. 798, and implacabilis ardet / attollitque animos xii. 3 f., where he is compared to a wounded lion. Similar but slightly different is exultat animis xi. 491, where courage seems to be indicated. This violence seems to be driving him continuously, as xii. 101 his agitur furis, but he lacks the essential controlling, guiding force to make his efforts fully effective. This is brought out by the adjective amens xii. 622, 742, and amens formidine xii. 776, and is also exemplified in action. There are three interesting passages in

the last book in which Turnus' thoughts, emotions, and reasoning are presented, partly in words of his own, partly by the poet. These passages all form parts of a consecutive passage following xii. 631. In the following, from his words to Juturna, he is really thinking aloud (645 ff.):

terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra videbit?
usque adeone mori miserum est? vos o mihi, Manes,
este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas.
sancta ad vos anima atque istius nescia culpae
descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum.

A messenger rushes up with the news that Queen Amata has died by her own hand, that his forces are hard pressed, and everyone depends on him.

obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.
ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit
turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem.

Then, seeing the city burning, he determines to play his part 676 ff.:

'iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;
quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna sequamur.
stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat, quidquid acerbi est,
morte pati, neque me indecorem, germana, videbis
amplius. hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.'

Here is indicated a sense of honor, and of the demands of his position, which compel him at last to face the necessity of meeting Aeneas. It is worth noting that throughout the poet leaves no doubt in the minds of the readers as to the outcome of the meeting, and Turnus, in his thinking, is aware of his fate. When Jupiter has forced Juno to withdraw her support and has sent a messenger to Juturna to the same end, Aeneas advances for a final assault, with threatening words, but (894 f.)

ille caput quassans: 'non me tua fervida terrent
dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.'

He suggests that he is giving way to fate and the gods, although he has courage still to face mortals. However, in the course of the encounter his courage had proved unequal to the task, and he had fled madly this way and that within a circle formed by the Trojans, a swamp, and the ramparts, exactly like a wild animal at bay, until his sister came to his aid. Now, at the end of the encounter, he tries unsuccessfully to slay his adversary by hurling a huge stone, too heavy for his strength, and then falls a

victim to Aeneas' spear. Heinze,¹ in his discussion, summarizes the portrayal of Turnus as that of one characterized by vis consili expers as Aeneas by vis temperata, noting most of the points that we have made. In addition, he mentions some further details brought out only in action, particularly that his lack of restraint leads him to despoil his victims, and in one instance to extreme cruelty, to cut off the heads of two enemies and hang them, dripping blood, on his chariot xii. 511 f. He has some regard for the gods, but no emphasis is put on it.

Another important aspect of the position of Turnus is the similarity to that of Hector as the champion of the forces eventually defeated, who meets death in a duel with the champion of the victors. Heinze discusses the similarity of the parts the two play in the battle scenes (p. 181), and the difference in the appeal each makes to his conqueror (p. 212 and n. 2). Our interest lies in the description and characterization of the two. They are much alike in the detail about genealogy and occupation or rank. As for physical detail, there is nothing general in the case of Hector, and rather little in the case of Turnus. Hector is regularly regarded by friend and foe alike as the mightiest of the Trojans as a warrior, and with this is sometimes coupled pre-eminence in counsel. This latter is expressly denied, however, by Polydamas, Il. xiii. 727 ff., and the poet, comparing the two, says Polydamas "in speech was far the best" xviii. 252, then gives the comparison point by having Hector oppose Polydamas' advice to fight only from the walls. Before the fatal result, Hector himself comes to realize his error. Hector has courage and might greater than his judgment, but there is no emphasis on violence and fury. Priam and Hecuba urge him not to meet Achilles, Priam saying that Achilles is "mightier far" xxii. 40, just as Latinus and Amata urge Turnus to desist, implying that he will fail, although drawing no direct comparisons. In Il. xviii. 285 ff., Hector is as highly elated at his victorious efforts and as willing in his over-confidence to meet even Achilles as Turnus xi. 434 ff., especially 438 ff.:

ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem
factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma

¹There are several references, but the fullest discussion is found in pp. 211 f. He refers also to Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, pp. 108 ff.

ille licet. vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino
Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus,
devovi. "solum Aeneas vocat." et vocet oro.

The wording is entirely different, but the state of mind seems similar. In Il. xxii. 99 ff., there is a passage in which Hector, realizing the folly of his plan, reasons with himself. He anticipates bitter criticism from his fellows, especially Polydamas, and thinks it would be better to face Achilles, to win or lose. Then he considers the possibility of surrender, giving up Helen and half the wealth of Troy, but decides that this would be useless, that Achilles would slay him anyway. Thereupon he resolves to fight. His decision seems to turn upon his unwillingness to face ridicule and his sense of the futility of surrender. In the similar debate in Turnus' mind the decision seems to turn clearly on a sense of honor. At the end, however, helpless before Aeneas, he hints that he would give up Lavinia and thereby his claim to the throne, if his life were spared. Heinze is probably right (p. 212) that the poet intended in this appeal to represent him as unworthy, but as compared with Homer he has merely made effective use of an idea that was present in Hector's mind, but unexpressed. That Hector, fallen before Achilles, asks only that his body may be ransomed is due to the fact that he has already rejected as useless any other request. On the other hand, if Turnus had not suggested that his life be spared, Aeneas would not have come near relenting, as he did until the sight of Pallas' belt brought back his determination. There is one further point, that the picture of Turnus as violent depends more on Homer's portrayal of Achilles than on that of Hector. Helen speaks of Hector's gentleness of spirit and gentle words, Il. xxiv. 772, and this is clearly exemplified in the scene with Andromache. There is no gentleness in Turnus and practically no mention of any genuine affection for Lavinia. On the other hand, the two outstanding qualities of Achilles in the Iliad are his unrelenting resentment at his treatment by Agamemnon, to which Turnus' determination not to be deprived of his rights is comparable, and secondly his blood-thirsty rage at the death of Patroclus, directed primarily at Hector of course, but making him a raging fury in battle, not unlike Turnus but for better reason. Also in his stature and comeliness he is Achilles rather than Hector, and we should not forget the words of Deiphobe, alius Achilles vi. 89, which do not seem to apply solely to his birth from a divine mother.

The primary hero of the poem, Aeneas, is next to be considered. He is introduced in the opening lines of the Aeneid, although unnamed, by a summary of his fortunes and his destiny, fully as much an introduction to the poem, outlining its content, as a presentation of the hero:

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Laviniae venit
litora--multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio--genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

He is not named until l. 92, where he first appears. His parents would be known to all ancient readers surely, and need not be named for purposes of identification. Venus speaks to Jupiter of meus Aeneas in 231, and of herself and Aeneas as nos, tua progenies 250. That she is his mother is explicit in 405 f, when he recognizes her despite a disguise. In 617 f. Dido inquires of him

tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae
alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?

He has many epithets derived from his ancestry, Dardanides x. 545; xii. 775; Laomedontius viii. 18; Veneris . . . filius i. 325; egregium Veneris genus vii. 556; nate dea frequently; satus Anchisa v. 244, etc.; Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles vi. 322; Anchisiades v. 407, etc., and sate sanguine divum, / Tros Anchisiade vi 125 f. There are several variants which mean simply "Trojan": Dardanius and Troius frequently, and ductor Rhoe-teius xii. 456.

His destiny, mentioned above, is told on numerous occasions, for example by Venus in l. 234 ff. It is further revealed by Jupiter in reply l. 263 ff., and we see that Aeneas is aware of it from l. 380:

Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo.

Because of this destiny he is referred to once by the poet while he is in battle as pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo xii. 166. Because he has left his native land, Turnus in reproach calls him desertorem Asiae xii. 15.

There is surprisingly little permanent physical detail. As the various people gather for the hunt in Carthage he is called ante alios pulcherrimus omnis iv. 141, precisely the words used of Turnus among Lavinia's other suitors vii. 55. He is compared to Apollo in a simile which concludes iv. 149 f.:

haud illo segnior ibat
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

His prowess in battle is evidence of his power and strength, and Diomed, quoted by the messengers who went to him from King Latinus, speaks at some length and in detail of his ability in war xi. 282 ff. He mentions the power of his assault, and the speed of his spear; he says that if Troy had had two others like him, the cities of Greece would have been imperiled, and adds that only through two men did Troy hold out so long, Hector and Aeneas,

 ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
 hic pietate prior.

There is a good deal of temporary physical description. The following is sufficiently general to be included, his appearance to Dido i. 588 ff.:

 restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit,
 os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
 caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae
 purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores.

Surely we are to think that the goddess accentuated the attractiveness of his features without fundamental changes. His appearance and equipment are occasionally described, for example, iv. 260 ff., and ix. 270 ff., the physical symptoms of awe and fright ii. 774; iii. 48, and iv. 279 f., his appearance in action, as xii. 430 ff., 919 ff.

In considering what is said directly of Aeneas' inner qualities, we find that it hinges on the quality of pietas, including obedience to one's duty to the gods, to one's family, and to one's fellow-man.¹ The poet calls him insignem pietate virum i. 10, and Ilioneus says of him to Dido i. 544 f.:

 rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
 nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.

In fact, to Venus appearing disguised as a Tyrian maiden, he him-

¹On this quality, compare Henry Nettleship, Lectures and Essays (Oxford, 1885), p. 104: "His distinguishing epithet (pius) suggests not one heroic quality merely, but the character of the son who loves his father, of the king who loves his subjects, of the worshipper who reverences the gods." See also T. R. Glover, Virgil (New York, 1912), p. 226: "If to Terence's humani nihil a me alienum puto we might add nihil divini, the enlarged expression . . . would very fairly represent that new attitude of the quickened man, with which Virgil endows his hero, giving it the name pietas." Glover also says, p. 224, that "Pietas covers his feeling for Lausus as well as his feeling for Anchises."

self says sum pius Aeneas i. 378,¹ and the adjective is frequently used of him elsewhere. The quality is mentioned under special circumstances. While he is trying to escape from Troy with his family, carrying his father, holding his son's hand, and followed by Creusa, as he tells Dido ii. 726 ff.:

et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis
suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.

It appears as affection for Ascanius specifically. We find neque enim patrius consistere mentem / passus amor i. 643 f. and omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis 646. It is possibly another aspect of pietas, as affection and consideration for his comrades, which inspires him to maintain an appearance of confidence after the storm scatters his ships and men i. 208 f.:

curisque ingentibus aeger
spem voltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.

The show of confidence is rather unusual, but the suffering under a burden of care and trouble, which also appears in this passage, is frequently mentioned elsewhere. In v. 700 ff.:

At pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans

Similarly, v. 720 tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis, viii. 29 tristi turbatus pectora bello, x. 159 secumque volutat / eventus belli varios, and x. 217 neque enim membris dat cura quietem indicate such a state of mind. Very important in Aeneas is his love for Dido,² mentioned explicitly by the poet in iv. 221 where he calls both amantis, perhaps in iv. 292, if amores there means the love of each for the other, in iv. 395 multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore, and in vi. 455 dulcique adfatus amore. It is definitely present, but in the background, as Anna brings him Dido's appeal that he stay. He is compared to a mountain oak, buffeted by gales (iv. 447 ff.):

¹Henry on i. 647 ff. defends Aeneas' use of this expression.

²Heinze, p. 123, n. 1, discusses at some length the question of Aeneas' love for Dido, concluding that he did love her, and quoting iv. 221, 291 f., and vi. 455 as clear references. Most conclusive is the fact that both Aeneas and Dido completely forgot their duty in submitting to their love. That the poet does not portray so vividly the love of Aeneas, Heinze attributes to Vergil's feeling that so violent a passion is unworthy of a true hero, and in a man is appropriate only to comedy, bucolic, or elegy, not to heroic poetry.

haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

Of other qualities, we may note the general excellence attributed to him in pater optime Teucrum l. 555, words with which Ilioneus apostrophizes Aeneas in his absence, and the quality of justice mentioned also by Ilioneus l. 544, in a passage quoted above. Aeneas appears in the later books as a brave leader and a mighty warrior. In the tenth book, a book of almost continuous battle, which borrows much from the battle scenes and accounts of the exploits of individual heroes in the Iliad, Aeneas has in a sense an aristeia. At times, he seems to have something of the murderous fury which characterizes the Homeric prototypes, but even here his gentler, milder qualities assert themselves, particularly in his treatment of Lausus, both before and after slaying him. The explanation of hard-heartedness, so far as it is present, he himself gives x. 532 f., in addressing one of his victims who has asked that he be ransomed, that Turnus by slaying Pallas did away with any possible consideration he might have shown, and adds that his action is approved by Anchises and Iulus. In this book, he rages among the enemy in the manner of Achilles after Patroclus' death in the Iliad. In x. 565 ff., he is compared to Aegaeon, the monster with an hundred arms and hands and as many swords:

sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor,
ut semel intepuit mucro.

He is dira frementem in 572, and torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri / more furens 603 f. Most striking is the relentless address to Tarquitus, whom he has slain as he vainly pleads for life, x. 557 ff. The poet says inimico pectore of his attitude, and the thought is taken for the most part directly from Achilles' words to Lycaon Il. xxi. 122 ff. Aeneas says:

'istic nunc, metuende, iace. non te optima mater
condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro:
alitibus linguere feris, aut gurgite mersum
unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.'¹

In this book there are other examples of harsh words addressed to fallen foes, or to those about to be slain. The following are

¹Glover, p. 214, says of these words: "This is what Virgil remembers to have read in the Iliad . . . but . . . the words are still Homer's; they do not belong to Aeneas."

noted by Heinze (p. 210 and n. 2) as examples of hardness or even scorn: x. 531, 557, 592, 599, 897. Such a state of mind in Aeneas, although really a temporary mood inspired by the death of Pallas, tends to make somewhat more human one who is often criticized as a prig. He is indeed much more inclined to such feelings as those at the slaying of Lausus x. 821 ff.:

at vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.

In fact, he even feels some sympathy for Turnus, after his surrender and plea, but reminded of Pallas' death by the sight of Turnus wearing his belt, furiis accensus et ira / terribilis xii. 946 f., he says that he is taking vengeance on behalf of Pallas and strikes Turnus down without mercy.

Vergil's picture of Aeneas owes little to that in the Iliad. Homer gives at length the genealogy of Aeneas, chiefly in the hero's boast to Achilles xx. 215 f., hints at the rivalry between the two branches of the family to which Priam and Aeneas belong, and places Aeneas as warrior and counsellor second only to Hector. In fact, they are closely associated in words of Helenus, Il. vi. 77 ff., on which are based the reported words of Diomed in Aen. xi. 291 about them, ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis. It should also be noted that Homer has Poseidon mention in a council of the gods Aeneas' destiny, "thus shall the might of Aeneas reign among the Trojans, and his children's children, who shall be born in the aftertime" xx. 307 f., a reference which may have determined his place in the legend of the founding of Rome, through gradual changes and accretions. It is Achilles in the Iliad, avenging the slaying of Patroclus, who sets the model for Aeneas in the last few books of the Aeneid. Aeneas of the earlier books is comparable, in general outline, rather to Odysseus in the Odyssey and Jason in the Argonautica than to anyone in the Iliad.¹

¹Heinze, pp. 271 ff. discusses the character and the characterization of the hero at length, pointing out the weakness and doubt of the Aeneas of the early books, the great change occasioned by his conversation with Anchises in the Lower World, which indicated clearly the noble purpose and the end of his sufferings, and the consequent assurance of Aeneas, which made him the true leader he appears in the later books. Whether Vergil was consciously portraying the gradual development (Entwicklung) of character is a question which lies outside our investigation.

We have yet to consider the manner in which information about these foreground characters is presented by the poet to the reader. On other occasions,¹ this matter has been considered for other groups. In the case of the foreground characters, there is a definite increase in the proportion of the information which is given by others than the poet. This is not surprising, inasmuch as these characters are more fully developed through longer portions of the story, the very extent on the one hand offering increased opportunities for bringing out information in other ways than through the direct words of the poet, and on the other hand making variety desirable. We shall distinguish three ways of giving information: first, the poet may give it directly (there is no example of apostrophe by the poet in this group); secondly, one character may give information of another; and thirdly, a character may give information of himself, either in conversation or in soliloquy. These are given in the order of their relative importance, the third type being much less frequent than the other two. Concerning Amata, Juturna, and Nisus, information is given only by the poet; about all the others, information is given both by the poet and by others, and in the cases of Anchises, Evander, Euryalus, Turnus, Aeneas, and Dido some detail is given also by the character. It seems unnecessary to give the full details for each character; instead we may indicate the variations used by means of a few examples. Of Anchises, almost nothing is said directly by the poet, in fact only the epithet magnus. His relationship with Venus is mentioned by Dido i. 617 and Helenus iii. 475 f., Evander refers to a bit of personal history viii. 155 ff., his age is mentioned by Aeneas twice, he is called magnus by Evander, and addressed as pater optime by Aeneas. Furthermore, he himself, in Aeneas' account ii. 642 f., alludes to an earlier experience. In the case of Evander, the poet mentions directly only his lowly circumstances and age. Most of the detail about him is given in a prophecy put in the mouth of the river-god Tiberinus viii. 51 ff., his family is mentioned by Aeneas viii. 138 ff., and Aeneas addresses him by the respectful form optime Graiugenum viii. 127. He himself refers to his ad-

¹Characters in the catalogues, p. 6; mass characters, pp. 21 ff.; incidental individuals, pp. 31 ff.; gods in disguise, p. 34; contestants in the games, p. 39; others in shorter episodes, pp. 55 f.

vanced age in explaining why he refused to become leader of the Etruscans viii. 508, and in his tendency toward reminiscence concerning his past, we have a suggestion of the Homeric Nestor, although, as Heinze (p. 415) notes, his story has a connection with the action. In the case of Latinus, most of the detail is given by the poet, his ancestry and family, his position as king, his wealth, and his age, mostly before he appears. All that is said of him by others is found in epithets used in respectful address, egregius, bonus, and optimus. Mezentius is called by the poet asper and contemptor divum in the catalogue, and the poet also mentions his height. However, his history is explained to Aeneas by Evander, and these two individuals apply to him the epithets superbus and efferus. Of Turnus, the poet mentions the beauty and size, and uses the epithets acer, audax, arduus, violentus, and amens, also describing or narrating the play of his emotions. Deiphobe mentions him to Aeneas as alius Achilles; his father and mother, and more remote ancestors are mentioned by Juno, and Aeneas calls him acer. He himself mentions his valor and expresses his thoughts to Juturna or in soliloquy. Of Aeneas, the poet in his introduction mentions the race, with suggestions of his troubles and of his destiny. Elsewhere he refers to the hero's comeliness, his pietas and his affection for Ascanius, his love for Dido, and his fierceness in action. Other information is given by others; his parents are mentioned by Dido, his destiny by Venus and Jupiter, his prowess in battle by Diomed, his pietas by Ilioneus and others, his justice by Ilioneus, and he is addressed, though absent, by this hero as pater optime. Finally, in the case of Dido, the poet mentions directly only her beauty and her love. Her history and position are told to Aeneas by Venus. She herself casually mentions her father Belus. Most of the detail regarding her love for Aeneas, and her changing emotions, is presented in her own words, chiefly in conversation with her sister, although at the very end, the climax of the story, he puts her emotions before us in a soliloquy.¹ In addition to the material already noted, we may mention what is told in the case of characters other than those already considered, either by themselves, or by other persons, omitting what is told by the poet. Lavinia's destiny is given in the prophecy of Anchises to Aeneas vi. 763 ff.

¹Cf. Heinze, p. 127.

Pallas' mother is referred to by Evander, in explaining why he cannot send his own son as commander of his forces, Pallas' valor is mentioned by Aeneas, and at his death Aeneas addresses him as maxime Palla. Euryalus' mother is mentioned by Nisus, as he tries to dissuade Euryalus from joining him. Euryalus in his reply himself refers to his father. Of Camilla, some of the information is given in the catalogue, her race, her position as leader, something of her nature and disposition, with a description of her appearance and equipment, and mention of her speed, also the epithet aspera. Her whole early history is told later, however, by Diana to Opis, in considerable detail.¹

Vergil had precedent for all the ways we have mentioned of giving information. Apostrophe by the poet, which he used in a number of instances, is not found in Apollonius at all, and is rare in Homer. The case of the swineherd Eumaeus in the Odyssey is interesting in this connection for the formulaic line, "Then, O swineherd Eumaeus, didst thou answer him" xiv. 55, repeated frequently in full and with variations. In the use of this form, then, Vergil is quite different from the two earlier poets. Apollonius is distinctive in that he regularly gives directly whatever information is given. Even in the case of the four sons of Phrixus who join the Argonauts after shipwreck, and must identify themselves to Jason, the poet in introducing the episode tells briefly who they are and where they were going, before having them tell their story. Vergil, on the other hand, in the cases of Achaemenides and Sinon, tells nothing about the identity of the men, but puts the whole story in the character's words. Triton, appearing to the Argonauts, does identify himself briefly. Both Homer and Vergil make considerable use of the method of having other individuals give information about a character, while in Apollonius this is far less common. Interesting, because unique in the Iliad, is the case of Rhesus, introduced before his appearance by Dolon, in explaining to Aeneas and Diomed the position of the Trojan camp x. 433 ff. Emphasis is put on his horses and chariot, but his race and his father's name are included. In Homer as in Vergil, this type is most common among the major characters. For example, details of Achilles' history are given by Phoenix, Nestor, and Thetis. Of his present qualities, he is called "most

¹Cf. pp. 61 f. and note.

redoubtable of men" by Agamemnon, Il. 1. 146, "mighty bulwark of evil war" by Nestor 1. 284, and after his withdrawal from battle, "stubborn man, that recketh naught of his comrades' love, . . . unmerciful" by Ajax ix. 630 ff., proud and haughty by Diomed ix. 699 f., severe in his demands on others and ready to blame by Patroclus xi. 653 f. His fate is mentioned by Thetis. This is rather unusual in its fullness, but Hector is comparable. Of him very little is said directly by the poet, but respect for his ability as a warrior is expressed by Achilles, Diomed, and Agamemnon among the enemy, and by Helenus. Polydamas questions his pre-eminence in judgment and knowledge xiii. 726 ff., Andromache in her lament praises his courage and daring, and Helen speaks with deep feeling of his kindness to her. Homer uses two devices, in order to have characters speak of themselves, the boast of a hero entering a duel, and the reminiscence. Such boasts are fairly common; examples are those of Idomeneus, Aeneas, and Glaucus, and in other connections Achilles and Diomed. The information in such cases is merely the tracing of lineage back through a series of generations. Reminiscences are very common in the case of Nestor, and occasional in that of Phoenix, both old men. Soliloquy, found in Apollonius in the case of Medea, is un-Homeric and is used sparingly by Vergil. There is an interesting example of soliloquy in Il. xxii. 99 ff., when Hector ponders his situation at length, and debates whether to stand against Achilles, a passage already referred to in connection with Turnus' similar uncertainty about meeting Aeneas. Vergil, however, combines dialogue and soliloquy in Turnus' case, and similarly, as Heinze points out in his discussion, presents Dido's thoughts and emotions mostly in dialogue, rather than in soliloquy.

It should be added that in Homer, although some use is made of other characters or of the character himself to give information, neither of these is extensively used, nor are the possibilities of the methods realized. The information is for the most part incidental and casual, given for its effect rather than because it is of any importance in the development of the story; that is, we cannot say that it was a conscious technique developed for the purpose of conveying information. Vergil, on the other hand, does regularly use his characters to convey essential information about themselves or about others.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Altogether there is in the Aeneid very little actual description of persons, of any extended sort. In the catalogue of Book vii we noted the description of Camilla, as she appeared to the crowd of on-lookers, mentioning details of her equipment and the general impression created. We said that this seemed primarily an artistic embellishment of the immediate scene, further detail of her identity and background being left until later. Among the characters appearing in mass scenes, outside the catalogues and lists, we found eight men who were described, six of them in some detail. In general, these descriptions are concerned chiefly with dress and equipment, although there are some details of more permanent physical characteristics, particularly of stature, and in one case mention is made of the hero's blond hair. Each description, however, is distinctive, and to some degree makes the character stand out from the mass as an individual. The appeal to the eye and the interest in color are especially noteworthy. Among the purely incidental characters, there were none who were described, and among those whose likeness gods assume, only Calybe was described, and she but briefly. Among the contestants in the games, there was a description of Entellus' great size and strength; and of the persons in minor episodes, there was a fairly detailed description of Deiphobus' mutilated body, of Celaeno as typical of the harpies, and of Achaemenides appearing to the Trojans. Of the foreground characters, there was none of whom the poet gives a real description, except perhaps of Aeneas as he appeared to Dido. We found, however, particularly in the case of some of the foreground characters, descriptions of the appearance of the character under special circumstances, of dress or equipment for a particular occasion, or of physical activity or reaction to various situations. These have been omitted in our discussion, since they are temporary phases of the appearance of individuals whose part in the story is more than temporary.

As compared with modern practice, one is impressed by the poet's lack of concern with picturing the permanent physical attributes of his characters. Such description is definitely not an important element in his treatment of persons. The details given are for the most part general and often vague, regularly conveyed by epithets or brief phrases. Fuller descriptions are usually reserved for particular occasions, and are concerned with temporary rather than permanent attributes. In comparison with the two earlier poets, Homer and Apollonius, Vergil is like them in the absence of general physical description. The descriptions found in these poets have been quoted.¹ It is worth noting that the description of Thersites in the Iliad and that of Eurybates in the Odyssey deal with permanent details, although the latter is very brief; the description of Phineus in the Argonautica is relatively general and deals with relatively permanent details, while the descriptions of Dolon in the Iliad, Laertes in the Odyssey, and Calais and Zetes in the Argonautica deal with purely temporary attributes. Vergil has more numerous and more detailed descriptions of the last sort than either of his predecessors, however, and in this respect contributes to the development of description of persons.

Since most of the descriptions in the Aeneid consist of brief epithets and phrases, as we have said, it may be worth while to give a short outline of those which are found. Of those which concern physical qualities, most deal with age (20), with prowess in war (15), with beauty (9), or with dress and equipment (8); the others refer to size, general excellence, complexion, hair, expression, and the like. There is some duplication, since several such expressions may be used of one person, but even so they are mostly used on different occasions, in separate passages. At any rate, there is no full description of any character at any time, and a reference to the discussion of individuals under the heading of foreground characters will indicate how incomplete is the picture of any one person, even when all the references to physical characteristics are put together.

There is one type of description in Homer which is very effective, but apparently neglected by Vergil. The most striking example is the impression of Helen's beauty conveyed by the reac-

¹See pp. 22 f.

tion to her approach of the aged counsellors on the wall. They say softly to each other: "Small blame is it that Trojans and well-greaved Achaians should for such a woman long time suffer hardships; marvellously like is she to the immortal goddesses to look upon." There are other instances in Homer, such as Priam's words, as he asks Helen the identity of various Greek heroes, about the comeliness and stately bearing of Agamemnon which make him appear a kingly man. In such passages, the poet merely notes the general impression conveyed by the character's appearance, and the reader is left to supply the details which for him best fit the situation. Vergil seems not to use this device. In vii. 812 ff., Camilla is the object of the gaze of throngs of youths and maidens, agape with wonder, but the details of her equipment are given. In i. 496 ff., forma pulcherrima Dido is further described by a simile comparing her to Diana, with considerable detail which must be taken as applying also to Dido.

Turning now to inner qualities, we find a somewhat different situation, in that there is more differentiation of characters. However, epithets and phrases are very often used, and some of them are repeated of several characters. Commonest of these is fortis, used in the positive degree of ten individuals, and in the superlative of four, but acer is a close second, used in the positive degree of ten persons, and in the superlative of two. We have already discussed the question whether these are physical or inner qualities,¹ concluding that they are predominantly inner qualities, but relatively unemphatic, and they usually involve physical manifestations. Next most common are bonus and its superlative optimus, used of six persons, and fidus, used also of six persons. Bonus and optimus tend to appear in direct address, the latter being found only there, so that they seem to be primarily formal expressions of respect. They are, however, in the vocative limited to persons in high position, to whom respect is due and genuinely felt, namely Latinus, Evander, Anchises, and Aeneas. Fidus, the only other epithet found of a number of persons, seems to retain its force. It is the stock epithet for Achates, but since it represents his most prominent characteristic, it is not merely conventional. Other epithets in this sphere are found of only one or two persons each, and so seem

¹See p. 4, n. 2.

more distinctive. Most of them deal with qualities displayed in battle, as is natural among a people who tended to limit virtus to this phase of man's activity. There are, however, numerous epithets outside the sphere of prowess in war. Most striking is the group of epithets used of Ulysses, centering around the idea of deceit and inventiveness. Two men are called iustissimus unus, Rhipeus a Trojan, and Galaesus a Latin, and in the case of the latter, servantissimus aequi is added. Among others, we may mention here unanima soror used of Anna, and pius used of Aeneas.

This brings us to the next point, that the poet tends to emphasize consistently in the case of a given character a particular quality.¹ In the case of Anna, it is the close relationship indicated by unanima; in Nisus, his great love for Euryalus; in Mezentius, impiety, amplified by the adjectives asper, superbus, saevus, and acer, but with a softer side revealed in his love for his son Lausus; in Turnus it is violentia, amplified by the adjectives acer, audax, and arduus, and the phrases praestans animi, and haud ulli veterum virtute secundus. In the case of Dido, emphasis is put on her overwhelming love, while in Aeneas, the primary qualities are on the one hand pietas, which gives rise to the conflict between his devotion to duty and his real love for Dido, and on the other hand his patient endurance of woe. The designations noted here certainly are not conventional, or Homeric, epithets, but evidences of real characteristics in the persons concerned. However, they do not picture for us complete individuals.

One further point is of importance, in regard to the nature of the detail. In Vergil, as compared with Homer and Apollonius, there is a definite increase in the attention given to inner qualities, and in a smaller degree a clear increase in mention of physical qualities. We have seen in detail and in summary just what is said by the poet under each of these two heads. By modern standards, there is very little emphasis on either, but the increase over that in Greek epic is clear. There is also a corresponding decrease in the amount of biographical detail, espe-

¹Heinze, pp. 280 f., says that Vergil portrays types rather than individuals, emphasizing general traits at the expense of individual traits, that characterization is accomplished through action, and to some extent through epithets, which however are exemplified in action.

cially that concerned with family, home, companions, and the like. Patronymics, for example, are rare in Vergil. Such detail as this is mainly for the purpose of identifying the hero, while the other detail is rather to describe or characterize the hero. Vergil is more interested in describing and characterizing, the other two poets in identifying. Vergil's occasional references to certain heroes as ancestors of Roman families, unparalleled in Homer and Apollonius, appeal to the interest of the Roman reader, but at the same time lend an air of reality to the character, and this is probably the chief purpose of the biographical detail given in the earlier epics. Because of the changed nature of the detail given by Vergil, we may say that there is developing in his work some degree of personal description beyond that found in Homer and Apollonius. Vergil undertakes to tell the reader more about what sort of person a character is, not merely who he is. Yet we must admit that there is even in Vergil little detail of this nature, and that character portrayal by direct description is strictly limited.

We have considered just what descriptive detail is given through epithet and phrase and in more extended direct form. Speech and action, especially in the case of the foreground characters, seem far more important in characterization in Vergil than direct description or statement.¹ This phase of the subject we have ruled out of our study, so that the conclusion as to their importance is tentative. However, a reference to modern discussions of individual characters in the Aeneid, in comparison with the details collected here as given directly about the characters by the poet, will indicate that a great deal of material is drawn from other sources, apparently speech and action. In the case of Aeneas, for example, speech and action are clearly fully as important as description by the poet. His skill and prowess in battle are shown in action, especially in the tenth book, but mentioned directly only in the words of Diomed reported by the mes-

¹Cf. W. Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil (Oxford, 1897), p. 395: "The characters of Homer, like the characters of Shakspeare, reveal themselves in their complete individuality, as they act and react on one another in many changing moods of passion and affection. The personages of Virgil are revealed by the poet, partly in his account of what they do, and partly through the medium of set speeches expressive of some particular attitude of mind."

sengers in Book xi. The quality of patient endurance of fate, even more outstanding than that of pietas in the poem as a whole, is brought out by the situations in which the hero is placed and by his words and deeds on such occasions. Even the quality of pietas suggests little positive content, except in connection with the manifestations of it in action and word. A particularly striking example of the necessity of interpreting a character by his actions is that of Mezentius. The description of him and the epithets used make him anything but an attractive person, but the death of his son, evidently dearly beloved, brings out another side of his character, inspiring him to sacrifice his own life because of a sense of responsibility for his son's death. Similarly Lausus, previously mentioned only for his beauty and skill with horses, wins our admiration by his unselfish determination to give his life, if necessary, to save his father. The whole episode very effectively brings out the character of the two Latins, and as well the considerateness of Aeneas, even to an enemy. This sort of delineation helps to round out the characters of those who are otherwise portrayed only in outline.

Speech and action are used by Vergil, not merely to round out such characters, but also to give application to the qualities mentioned in the direct descriptions. In the Homeric poems, the epithets must be largely disregarded, since they are formulaic, conventional, and almost accidental. Such is not the case in the Aeneid.¹ We have just remarked that the quality of pietas in Aeneas is shown in action. The adjective asper, used of Mezentius, is in keeping not only with his conduct in battle in general, but also with the anger and fury of his assault on Aeneas after Lausus' death. He is also contemptor divum, and this may be exemplified in his words in x. 743 f. and 880. The violentia of Turnus appears clearly and consistently in his words and deeds, as does Anna's loyal devotion to Dido, and Dido's deep love for Aeneas. The case of Nisus and Euryalus is striking, since all that is said about them centers closely around their mutual affection. Among the lesser characters, Nautes appears v. 704 in the capacity of an aged counsellor, something of the type of Nestor in the Iliad, interprets the fates and gives advice. Similarly, Aletes appears in i. 121 as grandaevus, then in ix. 246 as

¹Cf. p. 19, n. 1.

animi matorum, and proceeds to give his approval to the plan of Nisus and Euryalus.¹

Not merely are the details of the descriptions given application, but the application is made immediately much more often than it is delayed. In the cases of Aletes and Nautes, just mentioned, the skill in counsel is immediately exemplified. Tolumnius, an augur in xii. 258, proceeds to interpret the omen; Lycus, fleet of foot ix. 556, nearly eludes his pursuer Turnus by flight; Ebysus, noteworthy for his full beard xii. 300, suffers when his foe sets it afire; Dares v. 369 ff., a skillful boxer according to the poet's account, opposes Entellus in this event in the games; Iapyx xii. 391, a physician by gift of Apollo, treats Aeneas' wound with especial skill. These are some of many examples.

There is an interesting group of those whose description is given an application in a very special way, in that their dress is instrumental in bringing them death.² These are Acron x. 719, whose beautiful clothes, carefully made by a loving bride, attracted the eye of Mezentius and brought death to their wearer; Haemonides x. 537, a priest who wore his white vestments even in battle and was slain by Aeneas; Herminius xi. 642, scorning armor and killed as a result; Ornytus xi. 677, in strange hunter's costume which was no protection against the assault of Camilla. Most striking is Chloereus xi. 768, whose brilliant equipment attracted Camilla's eye and led her to her doom, although he himself escaped. Hyllus xii. 535 had golden ornaments at his temples, which apparently made a good mark for Turnus' spear, assuring the accuracy of his aim. Similar is Arcens' son ix. 581, whose fine raiment aroused Numanus to rail at the Trojans, contrasting their scanty courage with their adornment. In each of these cases, the details of description concerned with dress have an effect on the action, of varying importance to be sure, and at the same time they add to the effectiveness of the general scene.

Inner qualities are also used to influence outer action,

¹Interesting in this connection is Ilioneus, who appears frequently in the capacity of adviser, but is never described at all, except for the adjective maximus, which probably refers to his age. An example of inconsistency is Atinas, who is acer xi. 869, although in full flight. He reappears xii. 661, with the same epithet, and fights bravely.

²See pp. 22 and 24. Cf. Heinze, p. 205.

to a degree which makes this an important feature of Vergil's artistry, but in most of the cases, the qualities are not directly mentioned in descriptions of the characters. Coroebus, insano Cassandrae incensus amore ii. 343, rushes to his death when he sees her a captive. The devotion of Nisus and Euryalus affects the action both of the foot-race and of the spying expedition. Camilla, because femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore xi. 782, met her doom. Of course, Dido's fate was due to her passion for Aeneas, and that is often explicitly mentioned. However, there are other cases in which the inner quality is indicated in other ways. An outstanding quality of Latinus is his vacillation and lack of determination, and this is responsible for much of his trouble, in fact essential to the rest of the story, but it is not expressly mentioned. The action and outcome of the boat-race turn very definitely on the inner qualities of the captains, but these are not directly stated in descriptions of them. The same is true of the boxing-match; the qualities are brought out in action. Even in the case of the spying expedition, other qualities than the boys' devotion play a part in the course of events, particularly Euryalus' boyish impetuosity and indiscretion, but these are brought out in action.

The discussion of the application of the details found in descriptions of individuals suggests further consideration of the purpose of the descriptions. Statements in this regard must be partly subjective, since the poet does not state his purpose, and it may be differently interpreted. In addition, the purposes are numerous and varied, so that a summary is difficult, and they may appear in many combinations. This matter was briefly discussed in connection with the persons who appear in shorter episodes.¹ A distinction was made there of detail given to make the character real, detail used to adorn the narrative, and detail essential to an understanding of the story. A more complete outline is as follows:

- (1) detail intended to display the poet's knowledge,
- (2) detail intended to entertain and please the reader, or on the other hand to shock and horrify him,
- (3) detail intended to arouse the emotions of sympathy and pity for a character in a given situation,

¹Cf. pp. 48 ff.

- (4) detail intended to convey to the reader information essential to a full understanding of the story, and
- (5) detail intended to arouse a more lasting interest on the part of the reader in a character as a distinct individual, whose progress he will watch.

Detail of the first type shows relatively little interest in the character as a separate entity or as an organic part of the story as a whole, while the last type concentrates primarily on the character. This consideration determines the order in which the types are placed.

Detail which displays the poet's knowledge, whether of geography, genealogy, antiquities, or mythology, is most notable in the catalogue of Book x, since no one of the characters in that catalogue is ever of any real importance in the story. They are chosen, apparently, to honor Etruscan cities, and they afford an opportunity to introduce the story of Cycnus, and a reference to Mantua. Caieta vii. 2 is of this type, and similar detail is present in the case of Capys and Misenus, although they have organic parts in the story. The references to the ship-captains, and to others on occasion, as the ancestors of Roman families come under this heading. In general, such detail does not aim at arousing the reader's interest in the character, but rather in the detail itself, for its own sake.

Detail intended to please or entertain the reader takes various forms. At its lowest point, in the lists, it is little more than filler, to space the proper names and to complete verses. In the other mass scenes, it is used to retard the speed of action, to relieve the strain of continuous battle, and to give variety or avoid monotony. At any time, it may be used to present an attractive picture, to adorn the narrative, as seems predominantly the case in the catalogue descriptions of Turnus and Camilla. Interest in detail which will shock or horrify the reader is largely a legacy from Hellenistic literature. It is found in the Aeneid especially in the description of Deiphobus, as he appears to Aeneas in Hades, and in that of the dream apparition of Hector in Book ii. It is present in the description of Celaeno, and to a degree in that of Achaemenides, although in the last case the description is intended primarily to arouse pity. The same feeling of horror is inspired by the story of the encounter with Polydorus, but not by personal description. Such detail is common in Apollonius, and found also in Homer. It is intro-

duced primarily for its own sake rather than for that of the character.

Related to this sort of detail is that which seeks to arouse pity and sympathy for characters in particular situations. The appeal is to the more active emotions, and there is more interest in the character concerned as an individual. There are numerous instances in which the choice of detail seems to be influenced by a desire to increase the pathetic effect of the hero's death. Examples are Rhamnes and Serranus. Rhamnes ix. 325, the first of Nisus' victims during the night sally into the Rutulian camp, is described as an augur, but nevertheless unable to escape his doom. This is evidently taken directly from the description of Ennomus, Il. ii. 858 ff.¹ Serranus ix. 335 is described as a beautiful youth, sleeping so soundly after an evening's indulgence that Nisus slays him before he awakes. There is pathos in the fate of Acron x. 719, whose beautiful raiment, painstakingly made by his bride, actually brings him to his death at Mezentius' hands. Perhaps we should include Helenor ix. 545 ff. and Lausus x. 817 ff., whose arms were pathetically inadequate to meet the foes they encountered.² Slightly different are the accounts of Sinon and Achaemenides, which are intended to arouse pity in the reader, but also dramatically in those who hear their stories. The emotion here is essential to the plot, that the listeners may be inclined to credulity.

Detail intended to inform or instruct the reader is mostly dictated by the requirements of the plot. In the case of characters in minor episodes especially, the poet must explain their function, in order to make their presence intelligible and appropriate. But also in speaking of Latinus and Evander, for instance, he must give certain information to make them intelligible, and as for Mezentius, his presence with the enemies of his own people

¹Very similar in sense are Apollonius' words in the Argonautica about Mopsus, who appears on numerous occasions as a soothsayer, and of whom the poet says, before relating the circumstances of his death, "and he escaped not a bitter doom by his prophesying; for there is no averting of death" iv. 1503 f. Compare Il. ii. 830 ff., Adrestus and Amphius, whose father was an augur, but could not stop his sons from going to their death, and also Argon. i. 139 and 440, Idmon, who accompanied the Argonauts, although he knew through his gift of prophecy that he was to die by doing so.

²Cf. Heinze, p. 205.

needs to be explained. Sinon and Achaemenides are represented as including this sort of information in their appeals. Such detail is regularly supplemented, of course, by other kinds in the case of important characters. As a type, it is due to an interest in the character as an integral part of the story.

Most organic and with a more extended purpose is detail intended to arouse, and then to satisfy, an interest in a particular character such that the reader will await with anticipation further details about his activities or fate, or at least welcome them with close attention when they appear. Obviously detail may serve this end and others already mentioned at the same time. In a rather narrow sphere, since the scenes in which he appears follow each other closely, Drances illustrates this type. He is presented as a striking, forceful figure each time he appears, and it seems that he might have been developed into a more important character, playing a part similar to that of Antinous through the Odyssey. The striking description of Mezentius in the catalogue arouses an interest in the reader which will be reawakened at his appearance. Nisus and Euryalus in the foot-race appeal to the reader to such a degree that when they are mentioned again he is immediately anxious to follow their fortunes. Further elaboration of this point seems unnecessary. From the point of view of continuous narrative, it is clearly important.

This leads us to a consideration of a matter of technique, the time at which information is given about characters. In the Homeric poems in general, although with a few exceptions, the poet gives most of the information which is to be given at all at the first appearance, which is usually also the first mention, of the character. Those who are not introduced then are rarely introduced at all. The information given at the first appearance or mention may be repeated or amplified later. To indicate the relative frequencies, we may say that of four typical characters in the Iliad introduced at their first appearance, the introduction of one would be neither repeated nor amplified, of two the introduction would be substantially repeated, and of one the introduction would be amplified. Furthermore, such repetition or amplification, when it occurs, comes regularly on some special occasion, as when a character assumes a prominent part in the action, but most often at the death of the hero in battle. In the Odyssey, because of the nature of the story, there is much less

repeated reference, and the number of cases is so small as to make generalization unsafe. In the Argonautica, the tendency to give the complete introduction at the first mention is even more marked than in Homer, just as the catalogue of Argonauts introduces all who appear in the story as Argonauts. In the Aeneid, on the other hand, there is a clear tendency not to give the character a complete introduction at the first mention. The cases are few enough to be considered separately.

The first group consists of those mentioned first in prophecies, before their appearance. Prophecies of coming events are very common in epic generally, and especially common in the Aeneid. Ascanius is first mentioned when Jupiter explains his destiny to Venus i. 267, Deiphobe to Aeneas by Helenus iii. 443 and by Anchises v. 735, Evander by the river-god Tiberinus, who briefly tells his story viii. 52 ff., and Latinus very casually vi. 891 and Lavinia vi. 764 in more detail in Anchises' prophecy to Aeneas. Mentioned not in a prophecy, but by rumor, is Helenus, of whom news comes to Aeneas as he approaches Buthrotum iii. 294 ff. His story is further told by Andromache before he himself appears.

Another group consists of those introduced by the poet himself, in advance of their appearance. For example, in vii. 45 ff., as an introduction to the last six books, he outlines the situation in Latium before the arrival of the Trojans, and mentions Latinus in some detail, Lavinia, Amata, and Turnus more briefly, but at least he indicates their positions and relation to each other. Lavinia and Amata are not named at once, but Lavinia was named in Anchises' prophecy, and Amata's name does not really matter at the moment. The events in which these members of the royal family are concerned follow immediately upon this introduction.

A third group is made up of persons named with apparent casualness at first, and then introduced more fully on assuming a more active part. Four are so mentioned before they appear: Anchises, Andromache, Deiphobus, and Tarchon. Dido speaks to Aeneas of Anchises i. 617 as consort of Venus and so his father, but Anchises first appears in Aeneas' account of events in Troy ii. 635. Andromache ii. 456 and Deiphobus ii. 310 are referred to rather casually in this same account, and appear later, Andromache in Buthrotum iii. 297 and Deiphobus in Hades vi. 494. Tar-

chon, barely mentioned as an Etruscan leader by Evander to Aeneas viii. 506, is mentioned again by the poet viii. 603 before Aeneas actually meets him x. 148 f. Quite similar are these others, who are little but names at first, but have rather fuller treatment later. Mnestheus and Sergestus, two of the four captains in the boat-race, are mentioned in the latter connection as ancestors of Roman families, after having been previously referred to by name only.¹ Misenus, a trumpeter who signals the approach of the harpies in iii. 239, is more fully presented, as is entirely appropriate, when Aeneas and Achates find his corpse on the shore vi. 162 ff.² Iarbas, mentioned by Anna in passing iv. 36, as an African chieftain rejected as a suitor by Dido, is much more fully introduced when by his prayer he arouses Jupiter to remind Aeneas of his duty. Rhipeus, named as one of Aeneas' companions as they entered the night battle in Troy ii. 339, takes part in the battle and, unlike the others here considered, after he has fallen is briefly but distinctively characterized.

There is a fourth group of those who have some introduction at first, and later amplification of it. In some cases the additions are relatively slight and scattered, in others important and on some important occasion. Pallas appears first viii. 104, sacrificing with his father Evander as the Trojans arrive, and boldly rushes to meet the strangers. Specific detail as to his mother, his appearance, and after his death as to his general excellence, are added later. Turnus, referred to as alius Achilles / natus et ipse dea but not named by Deiphobe in her prophecy vi. 89 f., and introduced in his relation to the royal family by the poet vii. 56 ff., is further described in scattered minor details, besides the important quality of violentia, mentioned first x. 151. Nisus and Euryalus are the center of the episode of the foot-race, which brings out their mutual affection, and this is in a sense a prelude to the more important episode

¹The other two captains are not given any real introduction anywhere, although they are differentiated in action, as we have seen.

²Cf. Heinze, p. 378. He says of this sort of added detail: "Man sieht, genau dem Interesse entsprechend, das dem jedesmaligen Auftreten zukommt, werden dem Leser die Personalien zugemessen; zweifellos besser, als schüttete der Dichter seinen ganzen Sack voll Nachrichten gleich bei der ersten Erwähnung aus und enttäuschte dann die lebhaft erregte Erwartung des Hörers."

which leads to their death. The introduction to this episode ix. 176 ff. is rather detailed and gives fuller information about them than has previously been given. More interesting than these are the four others. In the catalogue, Mezentius is clearly characterized, as asper contemptor divum, and called an Etruscan. In viii. 478 ff. Evander tells Aeneas something of his history, and how he happened to be fighting against his own people. This detail is not associated with any particular activity on his part, although he is frequently active in battle. Acestes, the aged Sicilian king, is mentioned by the poet i. 195 in passing and by Ilioneus to Dido i. 550. Aeneas speaks of his pleasure at returning to Sicily partly because Acestes is there v. 30. Then at his appearance in v. 36, he is more fully introduced. Drances is the embodiment of the opposition to Turnus. His age and his hostility to Turnus are noted in xi. 122 f., when he, as one of the Latin envoys to Aeneas, favors Aeneas' suggestion that Turnus, unless willing that the Latins give the Trojans a place to settle, ought to meet him in a duel to settle the issue. In xi. 220, in the presence of the Latins assembled to bury their dead, he makes this same point. Later, in xi. 336 ff., he is much more fully characterized when he arises in the king's high council, as the representative of a considerable faction, to assail Turnus formally, and to support Latinus' proposal that the Trojans be received as neighbors. Camilla, finally, is introduced in the catalogue with detail concerning her appearance and equipment and the reaction of the crowd. When she assumes her prominent place in battle, her history and background are told at length.

There is discernible in the Aeneid a clear tendency to present characters in partial detail, or only as names, and to amplify later. In the case of Camilla, or Nisus and Euryalus, the amplification comes at the beginning of extended episodes which end with the death of the principals, but not specifically in connection with their death. In the case of Rhipheus, a very minor character, there is definite characterization in connection with the account of his death, and nothing before, very much in the Homeric manner. Complimentary, but very general, words are spoken of Lausus and Pallas immediately after their death by the heroes who have slain them, Aeneas and Turnus respectively, and similar general words of Pallas by Aeneas, mourning his loss. There is, then, very little of the Homeric tendency toward eulogy

of this sort. Instead, the detail is usually given when a character assumes prominence in the action, or when a character previously mentioned first appears.

It can hardly be accidental that so large a proportion of the important characters in the poem are mentioned before their appearance, or given a sort of partial, preliminary introduction before they assume prominence, particularly since so few of the characters in Homer and Apollonius are so treated. That this is Vergil's regular practice becomes even clearer when we note those to whom it does not apply, the ones who are of sufficient importance to appear on a number of occasions, but who either have no introduction, or else a full introduction at first. Achates and Ilioneus, although frequently mentioned, never have any real introduction, and gain such individuality as they have from the action, rather than from what is said about them. Much the same is true of Dido's sister Anna. The Rutulian Halaesus, Palinurus, and Serestus are of no great importance at any time. There are also two characters in the catalogue, Lausus and Messapus, who appear subsequently in action with some prominence, but whose introduction as given in the catalogue, is not amplified in any significant manner. These contrast with Mezentius, Turnus, and Camilla, whose partial introductions in the catalogue are later amplified. But Messapus never becomes very important, and Lausus, closely associated with his father in the catalogue and in the episode which ends with death for both, is further developed as an individual through action.

It may be said, then, that Vergil's practice is, on the one hand, to mention reappearing characters, or even to give them a partial introduction, before their appearance, and to amplify it at their appearance, or, on the other hand, to give a partial introduction at an early appearance and amplify it later on some important occasion. We have seen that there are few exceptions, all in the case of unimportant characters, and that some of these are developed in action, as Ilioneus and Lausus. This is further evidence of the close co-ordination of the parts of the story which Vergil gives the epic, and there may be some slight trend in the direction of suspense.

Connected with this matter of preliminary and amplified introductions is that of delayed naming, with which Heinze opens

his brief discussion of this general theme.¹ He notes that such delayed naming is found in Homer, giving as examples Patroclus in the Iliad, Odysseus, Eumaeus, and Arete in the Odyssey. From the Aeneid he cites Aeneas, Lavinia, Amata, Juturna, and Deiphobe. The case of Lavinia is questionable, for she is referred to indirectly, perhaps cryptically, by Deiphobe in her prophecy to Aeneas vi. 93 f., and is named as Aeneas' wife by Anchises vi. 764. To be sure, in speaking of the royal family at the opening of the seventh book, the poet refers to her merely as the king's only child, a marriageable daughter, but even here her name is not long delayed. Heinze might have added Turnus, referred to as alius Achilles by Deiphobe vi. 89. A consideration of the Homeric examples raises doubt that there is any importance in the postponement of the name.² On the whole the cases in the

¹Heinze, pp. 376 ff.

²Patroclus is mentioned first by his patronymic alone. In all probability, Menoetiades meant Patroclus to Homer and to his hearers, the hero being familiar, and furthermore in the case of this hero, a count will show that the patronymic is regularly used without, rather than with, the proper name. In this passage the patronymic probably fitted more easily, and so was used, without ambiguity and with no sense of delaying the proper name. In the case of Odysseus in the Odyssey, there is perhaps better ground for seeing intentional delay. The contrast with the Iliad is striking, for there Achilles is named in the first verse, in the Odyssey, Odysseus' name is delayed. No doubt every hearer of the poem knew the name of the hero, at least from what is said in the opening lines, and in any case the name is given in vs. 21. There it is brought in quite casually, in a manner which makes it seem doubtful that any suspense was intended, or that the name is in any way a climax. It may be largely accidental that it appears there and not earlier. The case of Arete is least convincing. Nausicaa tells Odysseus to inquire for the palace of her father Alcinous and then to supplicate her mother. She would naturally say "my father" and "my mother," but gives her father's name since it would be convenient for the stranger to know it in inquiring for his house. Before he reaches the palace, Athena, acting as his guide, tells the names of queen and king, in that order probably because Odysseus has already named the king, and informs him of the lineage of the two, all before they appear. The last case is that of the swineherd Eumaeus. It is indeed striking that he is referred to so many times as "the swineherd" before his name is mentioned. Eight times, six of them in close succession in the opening verses of Book xiv, he is so designated before he is named in vs. 55. This fact loses some of its significance when we note that throughout the poem he is called only "the swineherd" in almost two-thirds of the references, that there are other instances of five or six successive references to him in that form, and that from xxii. 284 to the end of the poem he is so referred to ten times in succession without any mention of his personal name. Another point is that when his name is given, it occurs

Aeneid appear to be more clearly intentional, in part, as Heinze seems to argue, because they are as numerous as they are. Even so, when considered individually they are not very convincing. The opening lines of the Aeneid are clearly modeled on the beginning of the Iliad and the Odyssey, more particularly the latter. The resemblance extends to the postponement of the hero's name, and to the very casual mention of it when it does appear. The first lines of the Aeneid would surely convey to every Roman reader a full understanding of the subject of the story, and any suspense must therefore be formal rather than real. The form is no doubt suggested by the Odyssey, whether or not it is accidental there. This probably accounts for the delay in naming Aeneas. As for Lavinia, we have said that her part in the story is mentioned by Deiphobe and her name by Anchises. At the opening of the seventh book, when the poet outlines the situation, she is definitely the center of interest, and her name is not given for twenty verses. If one's curiosity is aroused by the first reference to her here, as Latinus' only child, it is soon satisfied, and we may note that the name is again brought in quite incidentally, in the account of an omen, not in connection with her appearance on the scene. The case of Amata is similar to that of Arete in the Odyssey. She is mentioned in passing vii. 56 as the queen, who favors Turnus' suit. Lavinia is the subject before us, and to spend any time on Amata would be distracting. This fact is probably as important in determining the omission of the name here as any conscious desire to delay it. Furthermore, the name does not really matter at this point. It is more appropriate that the name be given as it is when Amata becomes the center of interest, but we should note that there (vii. 343) it is given alone, on the evident assumption that the reader knows who Amata is. If he does not, he must wait some fifteen lines to learn that she is Lavinia's mother. The case of Juturna is interesting. Referred to as alma soror x. 439 and as Turni . . . sororem xii. 138, she is named xii. 146 in Jupiter's words to her, following a fuller introduction. The name follows shortly after this second reference,

not when he appears, not when Odysseus addresses him, but when he replies, and the verse is one which is repeated fourteen times, that is in one-third of the references to him by name. This verse is clearly formulaic, and its use at this point is probably of little significance.

but the first mention is much earlier, and seems to involve real ambiguity, unless we assume that she too was well-known. On that occasion, by urging Turnus to aid Lausus, she definitely influences the action, although she is more prominent in the twelfth book. In the tenth book the reader knows little of her identity and nothing of her semi-divine nature. Deiphobe presents a different situation. She is regularly referred to merely as "the Sibyl." When she first addresses Aeneas, her name is given for the first and last time, but it is of even more importance that the name is but part of the fullest, most formal introduction which she has anywhere, Phoebe Triviaeque sacerdos, / Deiphobe Glauci; this is delayed introduction, rather than merely delayed naming. We noted that Turnus is also mentioned before he is named, though indirectly. The fact that his name is omitted is due to the fact that the Sibyl's raving sketch of events centers on the parallelism with the events at Troy, and the Latin names would be out of place.

In conclusion, we may say that while the fact of delayed naming is clear, it does not seem to involve any real suspense, but may be dictated by various considerations, Homeric imitation in the case of Aeneas, in Amata's the desire to focus attention on Lavinia, in the case of Lavinia and Turnus in the Sibyl's prophecy an interest in the parallel being drawn and in brevity, and in Juturna's case possibly mere accident, since there seems some ambiguity there. As for Deiphobe, the use of her name is part of a larger whole, the detail given to identify her more fully than merely as "the Sibyl."

It may be worthwhile, finally, to call attention briefly to the fact that the impression a character makes on the reader is not necessarily proportionate to the fullness of the description or characterization. For example, as previously noted, fidus Achates is remembered by almost every reader despite the small part he plays, and the phrase pius Aeneas is similarly fixed in memory. It seems probable that the explanation lies partly in the nature of the quality, and partly in the frequency of repetition of the epithets, used chiefly or exclusively of one individual. We said of Achates that loyalty seems naturally to be an attractive quality. The pietas of Aeneas, frequently not understood in its full implication, even at best is not a popular quality, and the emphasis upon it, essential to the story, inevitably

detracts from the humanness and virility the hero might have had. However, it does impress itself upon the reader, whether he approves or not. Both of these epithets, it is interesting to note, refer to inner qualities, which probably are more likely to be remembered than physical qualities. It is of some importance that qualities thus emphasized by Vergil are regularly inner rather than physical. Worth mentioning also in this connection is the fact that Laocoon, hardly identified or described at all, is remembered by the reader, while Drances, for example, although described with unparalleled fullness, at least as to inner qualities, is hardly remembered at all. Here the explanation seems to be that Laocoon is the center of a most effective scene, while that in which Drances appears is much less striking, and Turnus is the main center of interest. Clearly description is not by any means the only factor of importance in portraying characters effectively, yet it is a factor, and we have tried to discover how Vergil handled this part of his work, and something of his relation in this regard to his most important Greek predecessors.

